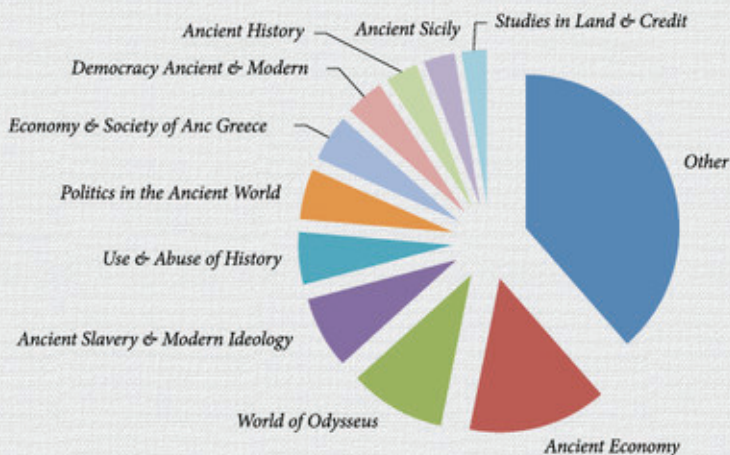




CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

M. I. Finley

An Ancient Historian and his Impact

EDITED BY DANIEL JEW,
ROBIN OSBORNE
AND MICHAEL SCOTT

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

M. I. FINLEY: AN ANCIENT HISTORIAN AND HIS IMPACT

M. I. Finley (1912–1986) was the most famous ancient historian of his generation. He was admired by his peers (Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge, Fellow of the British Academy), his unmistakable voice was familiar to tens of thousands of radio listeners, his polemical reviews and other journalism were found all over the broadsheets and weeklies, and his scholarly as well as his popular works sold in very large numbers as Penguin paperbacks. Yet this was also a man dismissed from his job at Rutgers University when he refused to answer the question of whether he was or had ever been a member of the Communist Party. This pioneering volume assesses Finley's achievements and analyses the nature of the impact of this charismatic individual and the means by which he changed the world of Ancient History.

DANIEL JEW is a Lecturer at the National University of Singapore, College of Alice and Peter Tan, and was formerly Finley Research Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge.

ROBIN OSBORNE is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge. He is the author of *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (1985), *Classical Landscape with Figures* (1987), *Greece in the Making c.1200–479 B.C.* (1996, 2nd edn. 2009), *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (1998), *Athens and Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge, 2010), and *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body* (Cambridge, 2011).

MICHAEL SCOTT is a former Finley Research Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge, and now Associate Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick. His publications range across Greek and Roman history and archaeology and include *Delphi and Olympia* (Cambridge, 2010), *Space and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2012), *Delphi: Centre of the Ancient World* (2014) and *Ancient Worlds* (2016). He has also written and presented a number of documentaries and radio programmes about the ancient Mediterranean world for the BBC, ITV, National Geographic and History Channel: www.michaelscottweb.com.

CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

General editors

R. L. HUNTER, R. G. OSBORNE, M. J. MILLETT, G. BETEGH, G. C. HORROCKS,
S. P. OAKLEY, W.M. BEARD, T. J. G. WHITMARSH

M. I. FINLEY
An Ancient Historian and his Impact

Edited by

DANIEL JEW

College of Alice and Peter Tan, Singapore

ROBIN OSBORNE

University of Cambridge

MICHAEL SCOTT

University of Warwick



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107149267

© Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Names: Jew, Daniel, 1973– editor. | Osborne, Robin, 1957– editor. |
Scott, Michael, 1981– editor.

Title: M. I. Finley : an ancient historian and his impact / edited by
Daniel Jew, Robin Osborne, Michael Scott.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom : Cambridge University Press, 2016. |

Series: Cambridge classical studies | Based on a conference held in the
Faculty of Classics at the University of Cambridge during May, 2012. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016026403 | ISBN 9781107149267 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Finley, M. I. (Moses I.), 1912–1986–Influence–Congresses. |
Historians–United States–Congresses. | Historians–Great
Britain–Congresses. | Classicists–United States–Congresses. |
Classicists–Great Britain–Congresses. |

BISAC: HISTORY / Ancient / General.

Classification: LCC DE9.F56 M5 2016 | DDC 930.072/02–dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016026403>

ISBN 978-1-107-14926-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Contributors</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xv
1 Introduction: Finley's Impact – a Balance Sheet <i>Daniel Jew, Robin Osborne and Michael Scott</i>	I
2 The Making of Moses Finley <i>Daniel P. Tompkins</i>	13
3 The Impact of <i>Studies in Land and Credit</i> <i>Paul Millett</i>	31
4 Finley's Impact on Homer <i>Robin Osborne</i>	58
5 Finley's Slavery <i>Kostas Vlassopoulos</i>	76
6 Finley and Sicily <i>Jonathan R. W. Prag</i>	100
7 Finley and the Teaching of Ancient History <i>Dorothy J. Thompson</i>	126
8 Finley's Journalism <i>Mary Beard</i>	151
9 Finley and the University of Cambridge <i>Geoffrey Lloyd</i>	182

Contents

10	Finley and Other Scholars: The Case of Finley and Momigliano	193
	<i>Peter Garnsey</i>	
11	Finley's Democracy: A Study in Reception (and Non-Reception)	210
	<i>Paul Cartledge</i>	
12	Finley and the Ancient Economy	227
	<i>Alessandro Launaro</i>	
13	Finley and Archaeology	250
	<i>Jennifer Gates-Foster</i>	
14	Finley's Impact on the Continent	270
	<i>Wilfried Nippel</i>	
15	Measuring Finley's Impact	288
	<i>Walter Scheidel</i>	
	<i>Bibliography</i>	298
	<i>Index</i>	323

ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Photograph of Moses and Mary Finley. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Darwin College.	<i>page</i> xvi
2	Photograph of Sir Moses Finley. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Darwin College.	xvii
3	Portrait of Sir Moses Finley as Master of Darwin College by Michael Noakes. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Darwin College.	xviii
4	The opening page of Finley's dossier of sources on ancient slavery. Reproduced by kind permission of Dorothy J. Thompson.	132
5	Schematic representation of primitivism (a), modernism (b), substantivism (c) and formalism (d).	231
6	Breakdown of citations to Finley's works.	291
7	Citation scores for Finley's ten most cited books, with years of publication.	292
8	Annualized citation scores for Finley's ten most cited books (from first publication date).	292
9	Annualized citation scores for Finley's ten most cited books (y-axis) relative to time since first publication (x-axis).	293

CONTRIBUTORS

MARY BEARD is Professor of Classics at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Newnham College and of the British Academy. Her recent books include *Pompeii: The Life of a Roman Town* (2008) and *Laughter in Ancient Rome: On Joking, Tickling, and Cracking Up* (2014).

PAUL CARTLEDGE is A. G. Leventis Senior Research Fellow at Clare College, Cambridge and Emeritus A. G. Leventis Professor of Greek Culture at the University of Cambridge. He has published widely on Greek history and culture, and particularly on Sparta and on Greek political thought. His most recent books are *Ancient Greece: A Very Short Introduction* (2011) and *After Thermopylae: The Oath of Plataea and the End of the Graeco-Persian Wars* (2013).

PETER GARNSEY is Emeritus Professor of the History of Classical Antiquity at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of the British Academy. His research has ranged widely over Greek and Roman history, and his most recent book is *Thinking about Property: From Antiquity to the Age of Revolution* (2007).

JENNIFER GATES-FOSTER is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She is a former Moses and Mary Finley Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge, and her primary research interests are in the archaeology of the Near East, especially Egypt, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

DANIEL JEW is Lecturer at the National University of Singapore, College of Alice and Peter Tan, and was formerly Moses and Mary Finley Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge. His research focuses on postcolonialism and underclasses in the

Contributors

Greek economies, and he is working on a monograph on helots, slaves and the Athenian poor.

ALESSANDRO LAUNARO is Lecturer in Classical Archaeology at the University of Cambridge. His research interests range from the archaeology of towns and landscapes in Roman Italy to various aspects of the political, social and economic development of the Roman world as seen through both material and textual evidence. He is the author of *Peasants and Slaves: The Rural Population of Roman Italy, 200 BC to AD 100* (2011) and since 2010 he has co-directed (with Martin Millett) archaeological fieldwork at the Roman town of *Interamna Lirenas* (Central Italy).

GEOFFREY LLOYD is Emeritus Professor of Ancient Philosophy and Science at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He was Master of Darwin College from 1987 to 2000. His most recent books include *Cognitive Variations: Reflections on the Unity and Diversity of the Human Mind* (2007), *Disciplines in the Making: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Elites, Learning, and Innovation* (2009) and *Analogical Investigations: Historical and Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Human Reasoning* (2015).

PAUL MILLETT is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Cambridge. He is the author of *Lending and Borrowing in Classical Athens* (1991) and *Theophrastus and his World* (2007).

WILFRIED NIPPEL is Professor of Ancient History at the Humboldt-Universität Berlin and an ordinary member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and the Humanities. His most recent books are *Johann Gustav Droysen: Ein Leben zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik* (2008); *Antike oder moderne Freiheit? Die Begründung der Demokratie in Athen und in der Neuzeit* (2008) (revised and expanded English version, *Ancient and Modern Democracy: Two Concepts of Liberty*, translated by Keik Tribe, 2015); and *Klio dichtet nicht: Studien zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Althistorie* (2013).

Contributors

ROBIN OSBORNE is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of King's College and of the British Academy. His publications range across Greek history and archaeology and include most recently *Greece in the Making 1200–479 B.C.* (2nd edn, 2009), *Athens and Athenian Democracy* (2010) and *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body* (2011).

JONATHAN PRAG is Associate Professor in Ancient History at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Merton College. His primary interests are in ancient Sicily, the Roman Republic and Graeco-Roman epigraphy. He recently co-edited a major volume on *The Hellenistic West* (2013) and is currently working on a new digital corpus of the inscriptions of Sicily (*I.Sicily*). He has ongoing research projects on Republican imperialism, Republican auxiliaries and Cicero's *Verrines*.

WALTER SCHEIDEL is the Dickason Professor in the Humanities at Stanford University. He is the author or (co-)editor of sixteen books on various aspects of ancient social, economic and imperial history. From 1996 to 1999, he was the Moses and Mary Finley Research Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge.

MICHAEL SCOTT is Associate Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick. His publications range across Greek and Roman history and archaeology and include *Delphi and Olympia* (2010) and *Space and Society in the Greek and Roman World* (2012).

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON is a Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, a Fellow of the British Academy and Honorary President of the International Society of Papyrologists. Her most recent books are: (with W. Clarysse) *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (2 vols, 2006), *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (2nd edn, 2012) and (co-edited with K. Buraselis and M. Stefanou) *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile* (2013).

DANIEL P. TOMPKINS (B.A. Dartmouth College, Ph.D. Yale University) is retired from the Department of Greek and Roman Classics, Temple University. He has also taught at

Contributors

Wesleyan University, Swarthmore College and Dartmouth College. His scholarship concerns the intellectual development of Moses Finley and language and politics in Thucydides. He has also published on the poetry of Wallace Stevens.

KOSTAS VLASSOPOULOS is Assistant Professor in Greek History, University of Crete. He is the author of *Unthinking the Greek Polis: Ancient Greek History beyond Eurocentrism* (2007), *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy* (2010) and *Greeks and Barbarians* (2013), and co-editor (with Claire Taylor) of *Communities and Networks in the Ancient Greek World* (2015).

PREFACE

The papers in this volume derive from a conference held in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Cambridge during 29–31 May 2012. This was one of several events held in the USA, UK and France to mark the centenary of the birth of Moses Finley (see Harris 2013, Naiden and Talbert 2014 and the nine papers forming a section on ‘Moses I. Finley et sa réception en France’ in *Anabases* 19 (2014) 11–129). Distinctively, the Cambridge conference set out not simply to remember and to celebrate Finley but to assess his impact. The conference was certainly rich in memories of Finley, and we hope that this volume too does something to recall the man to mind for those who knew him, and to conjure up something of his qualities for those who did not. But it is interested above all in the lasting impact that Finley has made on the field, and what about the man and his work achieved that impact.

For the success of the conference, we are grateful to the Faculty of Classics, whose Laurence Fund paid for the conference, and to Darwin College, which mounted an exhibition in conjunction with the conference and hosted the conference dinner. We are grateful to the readers for Cambridge University Press and the editors of Cambridge Classical Studies for their advice on turning the conference papers into a book.

Preface



FIG. 1 Photograph of Moses and Mary Finley.

Preface



FIG. 2 Photograph of Sir Moses Finley.

Preface

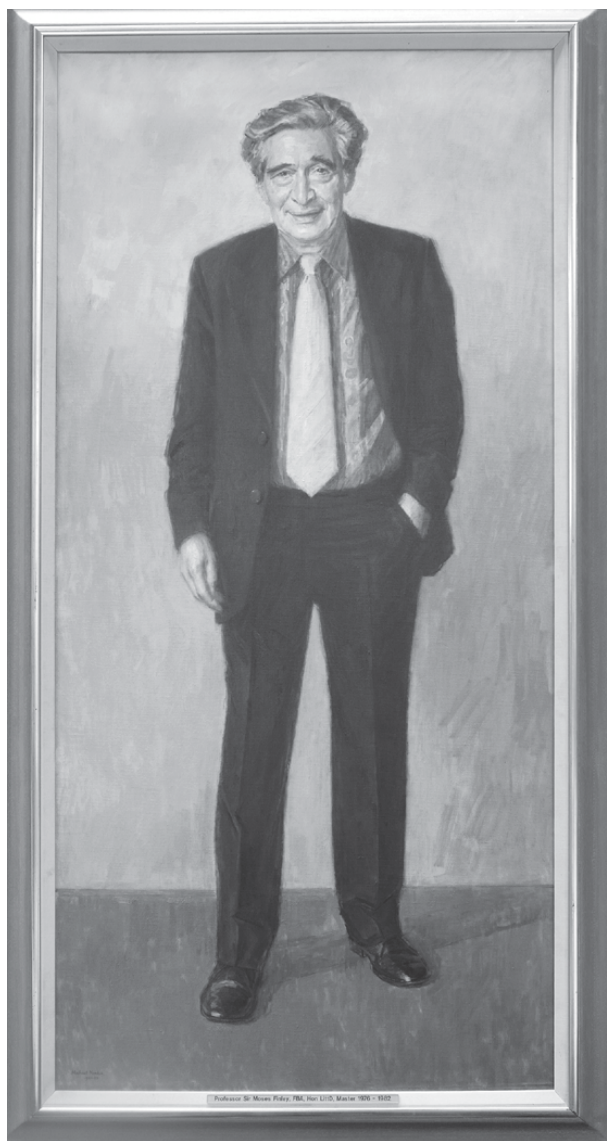


FIG. 3 Portrait of Sir Moses Finley as Master of Darwin College
by Michael Noakes.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: FINLEY'S IMPACT – A BALANCE SHEET

DANIEL JEW, ROBIN OSBORNE
AND MICHAEL SCOTT

Moses Finley, who was born in May 1912, stands out among twentieth-century historians of the Greek and Roman worlds for his unusual career path, his effect on the academic profession and his impact on the wider non-academic world.¹ A precocious college student, trained initially in law, but who then turned to the social sciences, Finley approached Ancient History from an interest in land reform (a story told in more detail here by Daniel Tompkins). Although he was already complaining of the inadequacy of existing ancient historical work at the age of twenty, Finley was thirty-six before he achieved his first appointment as an ancient historian, at Rutgers University. He was dismissed from Rutgers because he refused to answer questions about his links to the Communist Party, came to Britain and was offered positions at both Oxford and Cambridge, accepting a lectureship in the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge in 1955.

Finley brought to Ancient History both a set of unusual interests – above all in social and economic history – and a sheaf of social science methods. To a world intent on scrutinizing the precise wording of individual sentences by Greek and Roman writers, he brought an insistence on questions and models. The study of Greek slavery and of the ancient economy, in particular, turned in very particular directions under his influence.

Finley also brought to the ivory tower of Classics an insistence on engagement with the wider world. After his initial monograph, the publication of his doctoral thesis as *Studies in*

¹ Finley was born 'Moses Finkelstein'. For the change of name see below, p. 13.

Land and Credit, discussed here by Paul Millett, all his books were addressed to a wider readership than merely specialists in Greek history.² What is more, much of his writing was not in the form of books at all, but of reviews, articles for the broadsheet press and radio talks, many of which were subsequently published in *The Listener* or collected and published as paperback books. The proper ambitions of a whole generation of classical scholars were directed to making the specialist knowledge, and the excitement of academic discussion and discovery, accessible to non-specialists.

Given his interest in wider communication and his insistence on proper historical method, Finley had a low opinion of the way in which Ancient History was taught in schools. Characteristically, he set about doing something about it. The curriculum for Ancient History in schools in the United Kingdom was rewritten under his inspiration, with an emphasis not just on questions and on a range of historical issues, but also on getting school students to work directly with (translated) primary sources.

The sum result of this very particular career and very particular set of emphases was a scholar who became extremely widely known. He was widely known among scholars in the humanities, in Europe as well as in Britain, and behind the Iron Curtain as well as in the west, for his strong insistence on method, which ensured his influence also well beyond the field of merely Ancient History, as the chapter by Wilfried Nippel shows. He was widely known among schoolteachers, as the chapter by Dorothy Thompson shows, because of his involvement in the school curriculum and in the Joint Association of Classical Teachers. He was widely known among a more general public, who had heard his unmistakable voice on radio or read reviews and articles by him in newspapers and weeklies,

² Defradas opens his review of Finley's *World of Odysseus* (*REA* 58 (1956) 371) 'Ce livre ... est destiné au grand public qui ne lit pas le grec et n'a pas une connaissance particulière de l'histoire grecque (p. 165). On y rencontre donc des développements assez sommaires, mais toujours sérieusement fondés, sur les origines de l'histoire grecque, sur la question homérique, mais bien souvent aussi des aperçus suggestifs qui rendent sa lecture utile au spécialiste.'

as the chapter by Mary Beard shows. His distinction led not merely to his appointments, discussed by Geoffrey Lloyd in his chapter, as first Reader in and then Professor of Ancient History in Cambridge and election as a Fellow of the British Academy, but also to appointment as Master of Darwin College, Cambridge and a knighthood.

There are many reasons why this remarkable man and his career merit revisiting on the centenary of his birth. The period between Finley's precocious college success and his departure from the USA have remained, until Daniel Tompkins's recent researches, poorly known, and yet they so shaped Finley's intellectual attitudes as to demand further inquiry. Appropriately, two celebrations in the USA have led to collections of studies that focus on that period.³ In a period when classical scholarship in the UK was in general rather insular, Finley was notable for the range and warmth of his relations with scholars in Europe and for his encouragement to others to play on a European stage. A conference in Paris recently explored the nature of Finley's influence in France.⁴ Finley's extraordinary, and lasting, stature in the UK, not simply within Ancient History but across and indeed beyond the academy, which was achieved quite rapidly after his arrival in Cambridge, puts him in a class of his own. It is this stature that we seek to analyse in this book.

The centenary of Finley's birth has fallen at a time when the question of the wider impact that scholarly activities should properly have has been brought to the top of the agenda in the United Kingdom. Academics in the United Kingdom have for the past five years or so been facing demands from government, through research councils and the periodic research reviews conducted by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), that expenditure of public money to support academic research should be justified by consequent

³ Harris 2013, Naiden and Talbert 2014.

⁴ The papers from this conference are published in the 2014 edition of the journal *Anabasis*, in a section entitled 'Moses I. Finley (1912–86) et sa réception en France.' The existence of this separate treatment of Finley's impact in France has caused us to focus our consideration of Finley's European connections elsewhere (see Nippel's chapter).

social and economic benefits. Discussion of what impact, beyond impact on research in the field in question, might appropriately be expected from research in the arts, social sciences and humanities, has led to government agreeing that impacts on civil society, cultural life, economic prosperity, education outside one's own institution, policy making, public discourse and public services are all legitimate forms of impact.⁵ *Prima facie*, Finley's research can be reckoned to have impacted at least on cultural life, education and economic prosperity (the considerable royalties achieved from his publications have served to fund the Moses and Mary Finley Research Fellowship at Darwin College).⁶ It therefore seemed to us as Finley's successors, teaching and researching Greek and Roman history at the University of Cambridge, to be both interesting and apt to celebrate his centenary by devoting a conference, and this volume, to trying to understand just what impact Finley had and has continued to have.

Few ancient historians teaching in universities today would not regard Finley's works as variously important in their own intellectual formation. Many will reckon to trace back some of their fundamental views on ancient historical method to Finley's work. But did that influence stem from particular publications by Finley? How much impact did individual works by Finley have when they appeared? What lasting changes in Ancient History are to be attributed to his influence? How well have his various methodological and substantive claims stood up to the test of time? And to where should we trace the origins of his significant impact on wider public dialogues?

In order to answer these questions we assembled a team of scholars of the ancient world with a very wide range of

⁵ We cite here the terms employed in assessing the impact of research in the arts and humanities in HEFCE's Research Excellence Framework 2014 (the criteria used by the four panels can be accessed at www.ref.ac.uk/pubs/2012-01/). Whether there is any way of measuring such impact at all precisely or comparing actual impact with some notion of the impact that *should* be achieved remain intractable issues.

⁶ For this sort of impact of Finley's work cf. Walter Scheidel's chapter. Scheidel is himself one ancient historian who has held the Finley Fellowship, the others being Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, Valérie Huet, Barbara Kowalzig, Karin Tybjerg, Aleka Lianeri, Jennifer Gates-Foster, Michael Scott, Daniel Jew and Benjamin Raynor.

expertise and with very varying degrees of acquaintance with Finley himself – from those who had been colleagues and/or pupils of Finley, through those who knew him only as a lecturer, to those who never knew him at all and have become acquainted with the man only through his works. Each of these scholars was asked to look closely at just one aspect of Finley's work – either a particular book or collection of work on a particular topic, or work in a particular genre, or Finley's relationship with a broader academic world. Our intent was to try to understand in detail how the massive impression that Finley made was achieved. Was it that his colossal impact in one area led to his impact in other areas, or was it the very range of his scholarly involvement that created the overall impression? By including both those who knew Finley well and were personally indebted to him in various ways, and those who never knew him and owe their debts only to the wisdom they have derived from his publications, we hoped to weigh up the man against his words. If, we thought, the current debate about whether it would make sense, even were it possible, to link scholars' impact to particular published research outputs was ever to be settled, the examination of how exactly the ancient historian who during the twentieth century made the greatest impression on the English-speaking world achieved his impact was the way to do it.

The story that emerged from the collective endeavours displayed in Cambridge more than three days in May 2012, both in formal papers and in warm reminiscence and lively discussion and debate, proved, in our view, sufficiently unexpected, and sufficiently interesting, to merit this wider publication. The papers not only provide an extraordinary review of Finley's life's work in Ancient History, bringing out what exactly he contributed to the debates in which he participated in his lifetime, and his on-going place in debates still current, but also indicate how difficult it is to match the impression that he left with the writings that we read today. Going back to Finley's books and articles revealed that it was much harder to find the clear statements of method that many speakers had remembered themselves gaining from those works. What Finley wrote,

and what pupils gathered from Finley's own teaching, proved to be further apart than we had expected. Finley's methods and treatment of evidence, when examined closely on the page, proved much less consistent, and his arguments less clearly articulated, than memory, and Finley's own resonant tones, had suggested. Only a small part of Finley's published output turns out to have provoked close scholarly engagement; much that he published has been regularly cited but much less often made the focus of further debate. The most powerful impression Finley produced proved to be the impression made by the spoken word, whether heard in the lecture room, on the radio or in personal conversation (the importance of which between scholars emerges particularly from Peter Garnsey's discussion of the friendship of Finley and Arnaldo Momigliano). The contributors to the conference have been variously encouraged to reflect upon the discussion and to revise their papers in the light of everything else that they heard in those three days. We offer the results here.

Finley was a man of deep learning and strong political convictions; among Greek and Roman historians, he was uniquely well read in the social sciences. The knowledge that his most discussed publication was a book entitled *The Ancient Economy*, considered here by Alessandro Launaro, that he was heavily involved more than twenty-five years with the study of slavery, considered here by Kostas Vlassopoulos, that his classic articles include one on the Athenian demagogues and his named lectures series one entitled *Democracy Ancient and Modern* and another *Politics in the Ancient World*, considered here by Paul Cartledge, might lead one to expect that his impact was consequent on bringing a particular social science approach and a particular set of political convictions to Greek and Roman History. This proves not entirely untrue. There is little doubt that Finley's set of questions, on the one hand, and his criteria for what would count as an answer, on the other, were indeed heavily influenced by his political and social science experience. Although the early work tends to refer only occasionally to texts outside the immediate scholarly literature, Weber's presence, in particular, becomes very clear in the books and

Introduction: Finley's Impact – a Balance Sheet

papers written in the 1970s and 1980s, for all that turns out to be a very eclectic reading of Weber.⁷

Nevertheless, as the papers by Dorothy Thompson and Kostas Vlassopoulos reveal, references to modern literature on slavery were more prominent in his teaching than in his publications. Most of Finley's publications trail so little modern social science before the reader that scholars have sometimes doubted (wrongly) his familiarity with elements of that literature.⁸ His *Ancient Economy* helped to lose him a good scholarly friend, Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, because in the book Finley's rejection of class analysis appeared to betray his proper left-wing roots. Certainly Finley seems never to have sought reflexively to influence social or political science through the ancient case study. Outside the explicit engagement in *Democracy Ancient and Modern* – occasioned, as Paul Cartledge explains in his paper, by this being derived from the lectures that Finley gave when invited back to Rutgers University twenty years after he was obliged to leave – readers would be hard-pressed to find in Finley's work on Greek or Roman politics anything but the vaguest of political programmes.

But, it might be thought, even if Finley's impact on the academic world did not depend on the reproduction of his own intellectual formation, nevertheless it has surely been the case that the areas of Ancient History that he touched were transformed? In fact, as these papers show, Finley's contemporaries were well aware of, and variously drew immediate attention to, significant flaws and deficiencies in his arguments, the limitations in his use of evidence and the implausibility of some of the claims he made. The papers whose substantial propositions have endured have tended to be his least radical – the papers 'The Athenian Demagogues', for instance, and 'The Athenian Empire – a Balance Sheet'. Perhaps only in the case of *The Ancient Economy* did a significant part – though certainly not all – of the scholarly world try, for a generation, to substantiate

⁷ As Nafissi 2005 has shown.

⁸ So Lane Fox famously questioned how well acquainted Finley was with Marcel Mauss's *Le Don* when he wrote *The World of Odysseus*, occasioning a demonstration from Hornblower 2004 that he did indeed know that text well.

the claims that Finley made, before generally concluding that the task was vain and that neither ancient evidence nor coherent argument supported his view. It is not simply that Finley's radical work has been superseded because subsequent scholars have built upon the foundations that he laid. His most radical claims have, in most cases, been overturned.

It remains indisputable, however, that the impact that Finley made during and since his lifetime has been enormous – and unsettled archaeologists as well as historians, as Jennifer Gates-Foster shows here. But it stemmed from force of personality, from an attractively trenchant approach to basic questions of methodology and from a no-nonsense presentation that came across well on the page but which made its full impression on the ear. That impression was first and foremost on his undergraduate pupils, and is well captured here by Dorothy Thompson. While many others turned up to lecture rooms with scripts that they read, Finley turned up knowing what he wanted to say and saying it on the basis of notes so discreetly deployed that many thought he used no notes at all. But the impression of Finley's personality was conveyed also through his radio talks, discussed here by Mary Beard. As with a number of other scholars in the 1950s and 1960s, it was the recognizability of his voice and style on the radio that made Finley widely known. The radio talk demanded a voice of authority, and Finley's voice certainly had that. But the radio broadcast also lent its authority to Finley. It enabled, and was then reinforced by, publication both in newspapers and weeklies and with what was one of the very few mass-circulation publishers of serious books in the UK in the 1960s – Penguin books. It also ensured that when Finley involved himself with the school curriculum he could command space in *The Times* to discuss it.

Tracing Finley's influence on those who heard him only on radio has proved beyond our capacity. But his influence on those who were lectured to and supervised by him as undergraduates and graduates is more easily traced.⁹ The late Keith Hopkins

⁹ See further the appendices to Dorothy Thompson's chapter, pp. 145–9 below.

was in no doubt at all that it was the seminars that Finley held jointly with A. H. M. Jones that were the only exciting thing happening in Ancient History during his time as an undergraduate, and it was those seminars that attracted and proved of lasting significance also to students in the Faculty of History, such as John Dunn and Quentin Skinner. The excitement came from the conversational tone and the sense of a mind actively at work. The same was true of Finley's undergraduate supervisions. Among his undergraduate pupils at Jesus College were Richard Gordon, John Drinkwater and Richard Tuck, upon whom his influence came not so much from particular positions argued for in the face of their essays but from the expectation that they were engaged in an intellectually serious exercise and one that linked in to, and needed to draw inspiration from, what was happening in other disciplines. Finley's PhD students included (in more or less chronological order) Dorothy Thompson, Alastair Jackson, Richard Gordon, Richard Winton, Michel Austin, Richard Talbert, David Whitehead, Philip Lomas, Paul Millett, Stephen Hodkinson, Ricardo Martinez Lacy, David Cohen and Gabriel Herman, but many more were inspired by what Richard Saller described as 'an environment made stimulating by Professor Sir Moses Finley'.¹⁰

This work is not a biography as such, but it is organized in a broadly chronological way, with the books discussed in the order in which they were written. Such a chronological treatment is facilitated by the emerging fact that Finley's career moved by decades. His arrival as a significant historian of Ancient Greece belongs to the 1950s, with the publication of his doctoral work as *Studies in Land and Credit*, of *The World of Odysseus* and of significant articles on slavery, and with the establishment of a teaching style that got him the following of some exceptional pupils, both undergraduate and graduate. The decade of the 1960s saw Finley publish no seriously significant research-based book in Ancient History (for the problematic position of *Ancient Sicily* in Finley's corpus, see the chapter by Jonathan Prag). The 1960s was, however, the

¹⁰ Saller 1982: vii.

decade in which Finley became the predominant ancient historian in the UK, because of his enormous outpouring of radio broadcasts, writing for the weeklies, book reviews, publication of collections of essays variously popularizing the subject, editing of a book series seeking to push back the boundaries of Ancient History (not least by engaging scholars who were not themselves historians) and steering through the redesign of how Ancient History was taught and examined in schools. In the late 1960s, he twice mobilized the great and the good in Cambridge to take action over political issues – protesting at the reactions to student violence at his own alma mater, Columbia, and seeking to secure practical support for Greek academics fleeing the Colonels. By 1970 Finley's stature was secure, and the 70s were the decade in which that was repeatedly underlined by honours of various sorts – election to the Chair of Ancient History at Cambridge in 1970, election as a Fellow of the British Academy in 1971, invitations back to Rutgers University and to Berkeley to give the Sather Lectures, Presidency of the Classical Association and so on. This was the decade of books made up not of the texts of short talks but the texts of prestigious lectures. It was also the decade in which Finley came to refer much more explicitly to work in social science, above all, but not solely, in relation to the economy, for this is the decade of his Jane Harrison lecture 'Anthropology and the Classics' (1972), of *The Use and Abuse of History* (1975) and of his paper 'The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond'. By 1980 Finley had retired and was no longer active even as a graduate supervisor; his last works were essentially restatements of his position with questions of method and theory increasingly dominating over questions of substance.

As this outline makes clear, with the exception of *The World of Odysseus*, discussed in [Chapter 4](#), the book publications most readily recalled when Finley is mentioned (such as *The Ancient Economy*) date from after the moment that Finley makes his impact in the 1960s, in the United Kingdom and abroad, not before. His impact did not depend on his work in areas where he had made in-depth research, but upon

his ability to see old problems in a new light (his *Aspects of Antiquity* is subtitled *Discoveries and Controversies*), or because a particular piece of evidence illuminated a problem that others had never thought about. There is certainly a link between the qualities of mind and expression that enabled Finley to frame areas of ancient historical enquiry in new ways (as he did with *The World of Odysseus* or with his work on the ancient economy) and the qualities of mind and expression that enabled Finley to capture the imagination of a radio audience. But except in the case of *The Ancient Economy*, which emerges here as the exceptional work, the links between Finley's original research and his impact were distinctly indirect. And even in the case of *The Ancient Economy*, the impact of the book stemmed in significant part from what its readers expected from Finley – the impact was married as closely to charisma and to esteem already achieved as it was to academic content.

Walter Scheidel shows in the concluding chapter of this book that there are indeed quantitative methods that reveal Finley's stature and fame as an ancient historian. But, as Scheidel acknowledges, the relationship between what citation counts reveal and the extent to which the views in the works cited have been influential remains problematic. The assessment of Finley's impact that emerges from this book as a whole, where that impact seems to have relied as much on his oral interaction with students and audiences as on his written output, throws an awkward light also on the current strategy for assessing impact being applied in the UK, which requires both qualitative and quantitative evidence of impact directly linkable to a published piece of written scholarship (the 'changing of minds/opinions' as a result of engagement with the research output). If, as this volume indicates, one of the most well-known ancient historians of the twentieth century, with widely regarded 'impact' value, achieved much of that impact through means impervious to quantitative and qualitative analysis, is it reasonable to think that the impact of his successors today will be any more amenable to such assessment?

Finley's biography was unlike that of any other twentieth-century academic. But for all his uniqueness, the study of his work and its impact is extremely revealing about the ways in which academic reputations develop and academic ideas travel (or not). It is also extremely revealing for the pressures and possibilities which gaining the approval of fellow academics creates (as brought out strongly by Jonathan Prag's discussion of Finley's *Sicily*). Finley's care to keep his social science background largely out of sight, and not to parade radical political views, goes closely with his ability to catch the attention of powerful figures in and around the academic world and to convince them to back him. There can be no doubt at all that Finley's impact was strongly linked to his willingness to search in Ancient History for material that could answer questions first posed in other disciplines. But Finley's case, as revealed in these pages, shows how hard it is to link particular research outputs directly to impact or impact to particular research outputs.

CHAPTER 2

THE MAKING OF MOSES FINLEY

DANIEL P. TOMPKINS

The early intellectual development of Moses Finley (until October 1946, Moses Finkelstein), roughly datable to the two decades between 1927 and 1947, is distinctive in at least three ways.¹ First of all, it has until recently gone unexamined. Finley seldom discussed his past, even with his British friends, and seems never to have responded to requests that he wrote an autobiography.² Second, once examined, the archives reveal an unusually rich and varied early career. Each new document brings the chance of finding unexpected, sometimes compelling, associations.

The third point of distinction is that these decades are, to use the phrase Finley adopted as an emblem for ancient life, “desperately foreign.”³ American interests and values three quarters of a century ago differed significantly from today’s, and Finley’s mature orientation, after his arrival in England in the mid-1950s, is organically connected to his earlier experience of American political and social history. I have discussed

¹ Finley’s FBI file gives the date. According to Finley’s sister Gertrude Finkelstein, the youngest Finkelstein brother, Larry, working for General Motors in 1946, was told that “with a name like Finkelstein’ he would never get anywhere. He reported this to his father Nathan, who approved a change of name. Larry said that he had just read of a judge named Finley, and that if the name was good enough for a judge, it would serve for him. Middle brother Murray then changed his name, and finally Moses. Moses Finley himself left no account of this decision. I have found no non-family account, and have not tried to confirm the sequence of dates. Personal interview, Gertrude Finkelstein, April 27–8, 2005. For more information on General Motors, see [Tompkins 2006](#) and [2013](#).

² For a brief discussion, see [Tompkins 2006](#). Finley was notoriously reticent about his past.

³ The phrase originated with John Jones. [Jones 1962](#):17.

details of this development in a series of papers.⁴ In this paper, I present case studies that probe further into the thought world of the 1930s, first situating Finley's initial studies of agrarian labor against the harsh and sweeping changes generated by the crises of the 1930s, including the realization that economic classes may not act as one expects. I then turn more briefly to Moses Finkelstein's role in producing the first book in English of the Frankfurt School, and finally, to the challenge of assessing his political activity until 1947. I shall say in advance that we seem never to answer all the questions about this last topic.

Problèmes de la terre

After rejecting a career in the law, Moses Finkelstein found work as a fact checker for the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman.⁵ Few documents from this period (approximately 1930–3) survive, but one is his letter to the ancient historian Fritz Heichelheim, discovered by Brent Shaw:

August 30, 1932

My dear Dr. Heichelheim,

Miss Moscovitz has informed me of your kind offer of a copy of your *Wirtschaftlichen Schwankungen* ...

Sincerely yours,

Moses I. Finkelstein

P.S. I had the pleasure of reading your excellent article on land tenure which you wrote for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. I am at present one of the staff members, and, in fact, it was my job to check the facts in that article, as I do with all articles, and to compile the bibliography.⁶

Neither land tenure nor agriculture in general was an abstruse topic in the 1930s.⁷ Finkelstein's reference to "all articles" is almost certainly imprecise, since the complete *Encyclopedia*,

⁴ Tompkins 2006, 2008, 2013, 2014.

⁵ See Tompkins 2013 on Finkelstein's legal education, his employment in the legal department of General Motors, and on the *Encyclopedia*. Finley wrote one article for the *Encyclopedia*, on Julius Wellhausen (Finkelstein 1937a).

⁶ Shaw 1993: 180.

⁷ For additional detail on agriculture in the 1930s see Tompkins 2013.

edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman, ran to more than 9,000 pages in fifteen volumes, with specialized articles concerning many disciplines and cultures. Records of the *Encyclopedia*, now housed at the Hampshire College Library in Massachusetts, reveal that other fact checkers were at work. The *Encyclopedia*'s nine articles on "land tenure" take up fifty-four double-columned pages. In the most explosive of these, Peter Struve condemned Russian "de-Kulakization" under Stalin:

The real goal, however, which this social-economic measure, unprecedented in magnitude, was designed to serve, has not been reached, inasmuch as it has led to a decrease in domestic agricultural production which serves the food supply requirements, without at the same time promoting the export of grains, which it has likewise harmed, and has culminated in a terrific famine, on a scale exceeding anything Russia has ever experienced.⁸

Struve's critique never saw the light of day: *Encyclopedia* records indicate that it was removed and replaced, almost certainly by the editors. Finkelstein, a very low-ranking member of the small editorial staff, was likely aware of this, but we know no details.⁹

Though less brutal than in the Soviet Union, the American experience with "land tenure" in the 1930s was grim.¹⁰ The crisis began in the spring of 1930, when "little rain fell over a large part of the Eastern United States."¹¹ In the decade to come, the Dust Bowl helped to make agriculture a national issue, involving some of the best minds of the Roosevelt administration, some of whom seem never to have seen a farm: Lee Pressman of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration – nicknamed the "Triple-A" – "truculently" asked a conference on price-setting what the macaroni price would do for the "macaroni growers."¹² Support for sharecroppers, limitations on acreage,

⁸ This is quoted from the text of [Struve 1933](#) in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* archives at Hampshire College, Amherst, MA. The archives appear to preserve no correspondence between Struve and the editors about their changes.

⁹ See [Tompkins 2013](#) for details.

¹⁰ The crisis of agriculture and especially of small independent farmers was of course international. See for example [Paxton 1997](#): 123–4 on Henri Dorgères's experience with French tenants and others in the 1930s.

¹¹ [Worster 1979](#): 10.

¹² [Leuchtenberg 1963](#): 76.

and tensions between large and small landowners were not only national agrarian issues in the 1930s, but ones likely to catch the eye of young students of the ancient economy.

Units like the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics became centers of contention in the struggles involving tenants, commercial farmers, social scientists, and politicians.¹³ New Deal attorney Jerome Frank recruited a team of good lawyers to “Triple-A,” several of whom turned out to be members of perhaps the most important Communist Party unit in Washington: Pressman was one, another was his Harvard Law School classmate Alger Hiss. Their courier to New York was Whittaker Chambers.¹⁴ One non-Communist though radical staffer, Gardner Jackson, would become friendly with Finkelstein later in the decade.¹⁵ The Frank group were sacked in 1935 after “seeking greater security for ... low-income groups,” (sharecroppers against landlords).¹⁶

In this decade, Finkelstein learned about agricultural economics. He edited Heichelheim’s contribution and also read that scholar’s *Wirtschaftlichen Schwankungen* and began a desultory correspondence with him.¹⁷ He absorbed Marc Bloch on feudalism, and would rely on Bloch’s resistance to loose and “exuberant” definitions of feudalism two and four decades later, when he criticized Bronze Age scholars in the 1950s and Andrea Carandini in the 1970s for applying standards of later eras to the ancient world.¹⁸ In the late 1930s, Finkelstein

¹³ Koppes 1978 reviews the plot size controversy, over the controversial federal law restricting subsidized water to “enough ... to irrigate 160 acres” for each individual landowner. Koppes focuses (1978: 618) on the “study by a young University of California-trained anthropologist, Walter Goldschmidt” working in the Department of the Interior. Goldschmidt in 1944 found “unequal distribution of income, more farm laborers, and fewer retail businesses and social amenities” in communities where farms were not limited to the 160 acres. See among other sources, Kirkendall 1966: 96–105. Kirkendall emphasizes the alliance between commercial farmers and business leaders against New Deal agriculture policies. On tenancy: Nourse, Davis and Black 1937: 341–53; Schmidt 1941: 262–8, “Effects on Tenants and Laborers”.

¹⁴ Tanenhaus 1997: 94–103, Gall 1999: 34–43.

¹⁵ See Tompkins 2006: 98.

¹⁶ Kirkendall 1966: 99, Tanenhaus 1997: 104–5.

¹⁷ Shaw 1993.

¹⁸ “‘Some sort of feudal system of land tenure is certain’, say Ventris and Chadwick ... But just this, in my opinion, is the stumbling-block to understanding not only

assigned his student Daniel Bell readings in Karl Bücher, one of two “proto-Polanyi” (Bell’s phrase).¹⁹ Finkelstein installed the other precursor of Polanyi, Richard Thurnwald, in the *Syllabus* he published with Farrar Rinehart in 1937.²⁰ In 1937 or shortly thereafter, Finkelstein came across Gunnar Mickwitz’s brilliant short essay, “Economic Rationalism in Ancient Agriculture.”²¹ And, of course, he was reading Karl Marx, perhaps especially *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, and Max Weber, including *Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum* and even Weber’s early *Römische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für das Staats-und Privatrecht* (1891).²²

Page after page of Finkelstein’s eighty-three-page *Syllabus* reveals his interest in agrarian issues. Working chronologically, from the early oriental period to late antiquity, he repeatedly poses the questions: who controlled the land? How important was agriculture? Did the “small landowner disappear” in ancient Egypt and in archaic Greece? “Who worked the land?” How large were the “landless and debtor slave populations?” Like a repeated antiphon, “expropriated small farmers” – “growth of large estates,” punctuates the text.

Finkelstein’s output, including reviews, was slender in these years, and his scholarly activity stopped during World War II. We do have one spirited though compressed statement on “the

Mycenae but also its contemporaries. Nowhere do the exotic feudalisms which so irritated Marc Bloch grow more luxuriantly, and in less appropriate surroundings. It is necessary to uproot all the weeds, and to consider these social relations as something new and different.” Finley 1957: 141, using Bloch 1961: 441; cf. Bloch 1954: 174–5. Carandini attempted to apply Wittold Kula’s work on feudalism to ancient economies. See Finley’s letters to Carandini, May 7 and June 20, 1978 in the Finley Papers, and Carandini 2000: 43–7.

¹⁹ Daniel Bell, who studied intensively with Finkelstein as a City College Ancient History major in these years, recalls reading Karl Bücher, whom he characterized as a “proto-Polanyi.” What is most important for us is the conjunction of four thinkers – Thurnwald, Bücher, Polanyi, Finley – for whom economic behavior was “socially determined.”

²⁰ Finkelstein 1937b:5. Bell, personal communication, 2005. Thurnwald’s work on non-monetized exchange, “reciprocity,” and “mutuality” preceded Polanyi’s: see Thurnwald 1937.

²¹ Mickwitz 1937.

²² Weber 1924, Marx 1996. Finley worked intensely on Weber in the late 30s and early 40s with Benjamin Nelson, who was to become a Weber scholar. For some details: Tompkins 2008. Finley cited Weber 1891 while commenting on “private farm tenancy”: Finley 1976c: 189 n. 30.

peasantry” in Finkelstein’s 1941 review of works by Nilsson and Farrington on religion and science.²³ The review reveals tendencies that found fuller expression in later years:

That Plato could not carry his criticism [of Greek society] to another end was not his weakness but the consequence of his having been born an aristocrat in fifth century Athens. This is no matter of simple class bias, for nowhere in antiquity did either the slaves or the free poor develop a genuinely forward-looking social theory. Given the existing social relationships, there was no new system of society to which they could strive. Hence the social revolts were either attempts to run away (on the part of the slaves), to decrease the crushing burden of taxes and debts, ... or to elevate the lower class citizens to the aristocratic level of non-productive affluence (at the expense of the wealthy and to the exclusion of the slaves).²⁴

Asked about Finley’s virtual silence regarding the historian E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm posed “coherence” against “passion”:

I suspect that what Finley admired in Perry Anderson’s work was a capacity for coherent argument and exposition. He may not have found E. P. Thompson’s passionate and not unoratorical style to his taste.²⁵

Arguably, the mature Finley is not so much dispassionate as remarkably restrained: but Finley’s later style is a topic for another essay. For the moment, we should note that Finkelstein’s prose, while somewhat more “passionate” than it later became, remains analytic and – not a common word in Finley studies – empirical. Praising a Marxist, in a decade when “the working class understands” and “class struggle” were on everyone’s lips, when “dialectical materialism” dominated Marxist social thought, Finkelstein mentions none of these terms, and, just as he would do in his final published essay in 1986, dismisses talk about slave rebellions and ancient revolutions.²⁶ Finkelstein attributes no “understanding” to ancient “classes.” Though always interested in ancient oppression and

²³ Moses Finley’s necrology for Benjamin Farrington in *The Times* reveals what seems to be a longtime affection for this scholar. [Finley 1974a](#).

²⁴ [Finkelstein 1941](#): 509.

²⁵ Personal communication, 2006.

²⁶ Daniel Bell made this point in a letter to Robert Merton, December 6, 1958. Merton Papers. On revolution, see [Finley 1986c](#).

exploitation, neither here nor elsewhere does he say much about “class struggle.”

In this, Finkelstein seems to be aligned with his Frankfurt School employers and friends, who for a decade had been troubled by “class,” particularly in their German homeland. In 1929 Erich Fromm surveyed German workers and was depressed by the authoritarianism and anti-Semitism he discovered. Max Horkheimer, Director of the Institute, wrote in 1934 on “the impotence of the German working class.”²⁷ In 1942, Finley’s friend Franz Neumann described the successful Nazi manipulation of the working class, “corruption” of the skilled worker, and the “annihilation” of “all affinities arising from common work.”²⁸ Finley’s other friend Herbert Marcuse (whose *Reason and Revolution* Finkelstein praised in his review of Farrington) was developing an encompassing position on the de-politicization of the modern working class that culminated in *One Dimensional Man* (1964).²⁹

Finkelstein’s “passion” is evident: “What is left is the ‘grinding poverty’ of peasants.” Thirty-five years later, when Finley studied “private land tenancy,” poverty, exploitation, and vulnerability remained paramount. “The agreements were draconic. ... The threat of *addictio* was in the air... Roman law was never gentle with debtors.” Knowledge of the legal system was one instrument of exploitation: “Pliny didn’t need to haul tenants before a magistrate or restrain them illegally.”³⁰ By the

²⁷ Fromm 1984, [Horkheimer 1994](#).

²⁸ [Neumann 1942](#), [Neumann 2009](#): 425, 472.

²⁹ Finley not only contributed to Marcuse’s *Festschrift* but tried to interest Chatto and Windus, his own publisher, in taking on Marcuse. The Finley Papers contain a letter from Peter Calvocoressi of Chatto (January 5, 1956) declining *Eros and Civilization*: “much too Hegelian for me, and I fear for the English taste generally. I cannot help thinking, I hope not presumptuously, that there was a certain amount of jargon. ... [T]he first part is so good that you might well find somebody who will take a different view.” Routledge published the book in the United Kingdom. It remains in print and has sold more than 300,000 copies. On Finley’s relationships at the Institute for Social Research, see his letter to Brent Shaw, August 14, 1980, about the introduction to [Finley 1982b](#): “What they represented and did simply cannot be done intelligibly in ... brief compass ...” Finley mentions “Horkheimer, with whom I did have continuous contact, and Adorno, with whom I had virtually none and with whom I couldn’t get on at all; ... the men I was personally closest to [were] Lowenthal, Neumann, Kirchheimer.” Finley Papers.

³⁰ [Finley 1976c](#): 114–17 and 189 n. 30: “The label ‘draconic’ comes from [Weber 1891](#).”

1970s, he was supplying the fine tuning, gradation, and classification absent from his 1941 review of Farrington, but *au fond*, the spirit is the same.³¹

Surveying three essays over three decades,³² the reader is struck not only by the carefully calibrated awareness of inequality but by the rigorous reasoning, including Finley's characteristic Weberian-implied counterfactual: there were social reasons why land was originally likely not alienable, then became alienable, and then, in certain territories, became subject to restrictions. By "implied counterfactual" I mean a formulation in which the alternative is impossible or unimaginable. For instance, tight restrictions on alienation of land would not have been needed in the Homeric period but would have become more numerous in later eras. This "structural" analysis makes more sense to Finley than a search for "specific acts bringing about changes at specific dates." It results in a view of changes in landholding as "one face of a long, uneven and complicated process of change, little of it ... in the form of legislative enactment."³³

That change marks the methodological maturation of a concern with land tenure that began in 1932. At age twenty-four, Moses Finkelstein could proclaim that "the study of ancient history has reached an impasse. Unless the basic postulates are shifted, no real advance is possible any longer," and correct

³¹ Finley's close friend from the 1930s, Daniel Thorner, was fired at the University of Pennsylvania at the same time as Finley at Rutgers, spent many years in India studying the effect of land reform, and reported equally qualified findings there: "No amount of tenancy legislation guaranteeing occupancy or hereditary rights has, in practice, served to strip the zamindar of his manifold powers over his tenants. ... What the zamindars, like landed proprietors in other countries, have wanted from their land is rent; and this they have obtained." [Thorner and Thorner 1962b:140–1](#).

³² [Finley 1953, 1975b](#) (originally published in 1968), [1976b, 1976c](#). These essays contain details on terms of tenancy (and reasons why these varied), variety of contracts, the obligations and risks taken on, the constraints experienced by landlord and (more severely) by tenant, the economic background of tenants, and the lack of real "managerial difference" between tenancies and slavery.

³³ "Alienability" 158–9. Compare Finley's statement three years later on the benefits of ideal-type reasoning using counterfactuals: "A model can be constructed, imperfect, incomplete, untidy, yet tying together the fundamentals of political and social structure in a way that stands up to comparative analysis, the only control available to us in the absence of external documentation." [Finley 1978: 159](#).

The Making of Moses Finley

Victor Ehrenberg: “of the change from slavery to feudalism he knows nothing.”³⁴ After four decades of immersion in the details of rural life, he was less eager to make such sweeping judgments.

Finley continued to engage in spirited debate over issues of “Private Farm Tenancy.” Cambridge University invited the archaeologist Andrea Carandini to attend a seminar, and sent students along with C. R. Whittaker to participate in Carandini’s important excavations at Settefinestre, about which Whittaker wrote one strong endorsement.³⁵ But Finley and Carandini had serious disagreements about historical interpretation, in particular over the labor force. In part, this came because Carandini insisted that the Settefinestre labor force was composed of slaves, exemplifying a “crisis” in the Marxist “slave mode of production.” Finley saw no evidence that slave labor was required or proven, and disputed “mode of production,” in particular the “slave mode,” on the grounds that slaves could be used in a variety of “modes,” including capitalism, and that “mode of production” had come to seem a meaningless abstraction:

Although I began to read Marx literally before you were born, I would not presume to challenge your very careful, skillful and detailed exegesis. I make no claim to such expertise. Furthermore, as I believe you know, I do not understand “mode of production”: it is not a concept I can use or refuse to use because it does not have more than rhetorical meaning for me. That makes debate difficult, to put it mildly, and it would not help if you replied with a definition, even at some length. I have read enough definitions and I remain uncomprehending.³⁶

That Finley took this matter quite seriously is illustrated by his letter to Andre Tchernia when Tchernia was preparing his book on Roman wine for publication.³⁷ Finley apparently read

³⁴ Finkelstein 1936a: 441.

³⁵ The file of correspondence between Finley and Carandini extends from 1977 to 1980; Carandini’s visit to Cambridge took place in February or March, 1978 (the exact date does not appear in the correspondence). C. R. Whittaker reported on the excavation to Peter Garnsey, with a copy to Finley, on September 3, 1978. Finley Papers.

³⁶ Finley letter to Carandini, June 2, 1980, in Finley Papers, Cambridge Main Library.

³⁷ Tchernia 1986.

the text with care, but the first subject he mentioned was his argument – now several years behind him – with Carandini:

Perhaps what I admired most was the delicacy of your analysis of the Carandini “crisis” argument. As you know, I believe almost none of it. A global argument based on one major excavation and some other evidence is *a priori* incredible, and it should not be forgotten that C., much to his own unhappiness, failed to find at Sette Finestre a shred of archaeological evidence of slaves. Nor do I find a scheme attractive which includes a crisis lasting a century and a half, and a transition-period that follows for three or four centuries. But my arguments are entirely “theoretical”; yours are empirical and therefore more potent.³⁸

The argument over “slave quarters at Settefinestre” requires technical expertise.³⁹ But what equally bothers Finley is the apparent readiness of Carandini to accept the doctrine of a “slave mode” that reached a “crisis,” when the very schematic nature of that formula opens it up to question.⁴⁰

Finkelstein and Otto Kirchheimer

“Each new document brings the chance of finding unexpected, sometimes compelling, associations.” – p. 13 above

The Frankfurt School has been the source of several surprising insights into Finley’s early thinking. Without seeking to push the evidence, it appears that Finley’s language and thinking were attuned to Frankfurt positions on some issues of Marxism. Only the discovery of Finley’s correspondence in the early 1970s with Quentin Skinner revealed the linkage between *The Ancestral Constitution* (1971) and Max Horkheimer’s important 1936 essay “Egoismus und die Freiheitsbewegung”

³⁸ Finley to Tchernia, July 28, 1984. Finley Papers.

³⁹ Much ink has been spilled on this topic. [Launaro 2011](#): 155–8 usefully summarizes recent scholarship and offers his own sensible position. Marzano 2009 provides explicit details on the Settefinestre site.

⁴⁰ Readers will notice that the discussion above has passed over a seemingly obvious candidate for inclusion here, the collection of essays Finley edited entitled *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* ([Finley 1973a](#)). It is a very worthwhile volume, with contributions by distinguished scholars from seven countries. But space and time limitations prevent coverage of it or other relevant works in this essay. The papers of Pierre Vidal-Naquet, at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, in Paris, contain valuable details about the complexities of preparing this volume.

discussed at length in another essay.⁴¹ Without that connection, the possible influence of Marcuse and others on Finley's "Marxism" might have gone unnoticed, and there would have been less incentive to probe the work Finkelstein performed as a translator for the Institute for Social Research.

When he recommended Finley to Rutgers University in 1947, Horkheimer described Finley's role at the Institute. Finley worked:

... in close consultation with the authors, to help revise the texts in order to render them as clear and intelligible as possible for American readers. Anyone familiar with German philosophical terminology will appreciate the problems of such an assignment.

Horkheimer adds that because he was expert in history, sociology, and philosophy Finley played a major role as the Institute was "making the transition from the German to the American scene." He also had:

the knack of lucid presentation. ... It is worth mentioning, finally, that reviewers of the volumes he prepared for publication invariably commented on the skill of the translation.⁴²

Horkheimer had also said, in a bland prefatory remark to Finkelstein's first major translation, that "the English version was prepared by Mr. M. I. Finkelstein." Nothing here prepares the reader to find that the book in question, Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer's *Punishment and Social Structure* (1939), would offer anything exciting.⁴³

Punishment and Social Structure not only remains in print but was praised by Michel Foucault ("this great work").⁴⁴ The book had a tortuous publication history. Georg Rusche had the initial *aperçu* that the history of incarceration policies could be connected to national economies, published some articles, and drafted what are now the first eight chapters of the book in English, in the early 1930s.⁴⁵ Rusche then had a

⁴¹ Tompkins 2013.

⁴² Horkheimer: May 28, 1947. Letters in Lewis Webster Jones Papers, Rutgers University.

⁴³ Rusche and Kirchheimer 2003: li.

⁴⁴ Foucault 1977: 24. See Wheatland 2009: 143.

⁴⁵ See Rusche 1933, as one example.

series of problems and seems to have become unable to pursue the project. In 1937, Horkheimer asked Kirchheimer, who was in Paris and desperate to get to the United States, to turn Rusche's partially completed manuscript into a book.⁴⁶ On the one hand, Kirchheimer had a low opinion of Rusche himself, and *knew no English*. On the other hand, "he was almost forced to do [the book] by the promise of future help from the Institute in his hopes to relocate to New York."⁴⁷ Finkelstein became involved, certainly in developing the final version and perhaps more, since Kirchheimer would have required assistance in understanding Rusche's manuscript. The Institute was very concerned about the reception of its first English publication, and Franz Neumann warned Finkelstein and Kirchheimer "not to advertise on every page the superiority of Marxist theory."⁴⁸ Kirchheimer's note on the published text demonstrates that his English, even after completion, remained a bit shaky. As the French translators put it:

Dans le fonds Moses Finley, à Cambridge, se trouve l'exemplaire de *Peine et structure sociale* qu'il avait reçu des mains d'Otto Kirchheimer. Finley avait collaboré à la phase finale d'écriture du manuscrit, pour assurer sa redaction en anglais. En troisième page de couverture, là où personne ne le soupçonnerait, nous trouvons l'envoi d'Otto Kirchheimer: "*As far as I was concerned, I think it is sufficiently Marxist, don't you think so?*"⁴⁹

Punishment and Social Structure is a bold work, attempting to determine how both economic factors and the prevailing *structure mentale* in a given period have affected incarceration policy. When labor is cheap, torture is (apparently) more common; when labor is scarce, convicts are forced to produce goods: or to row galleys if sailors are in low supply. Cultural preferences play a role too:

Punishment is neither a simple consequence of crime, nor the reverse side of crime, nor a mere means which is determined by the end to be achieved.

⁴⁶ Melossi 2003 provides full historical and bibliographic details.

⁴⁷ Melossi 2003: xvii.

⁴⁸ Melossi 2003: 38 n. 7.

⁴⁹ Lévy and Zander 1994: 52. A footnote says: "Cette indication nous a été très aimablement communiquée par le Pr Riccardo Di Donato."

The Making of Moses Finley

Punishment must be understood as a social phenomenon freed from both its juristic concept and its social ends. We do not deny that punishment has specific ends, but we do deny that it can be understood from its ends alone.⁵⁰

The authors insist that incarceration policy has no effect on crime rates.

The translation is clear and competent. How much of Moses Finkelstein's thinking does the book contain? That question requires further study. This is the only extended prose work we have from the future Professor of Ancient History in the 1930s: the rest of his work until 1941 could be read in a few hours. But there is no sign that the book directly influenced Finley's later work. On the other hand, Finley would have had no difficulty accepting the general propositions that state decisions reflected the mentality of those in power, or the finding that penal policy has no effect on crime rates. And like Kirchheimer, Finley certainly did later insist that "the substance, the 'mould' of the law ... [is] heavily biased," possibly even an "instrument and reflection of social inequality," though this book was not required to convince him of that.⁵¹ It does appear that Finley and Kirchheimer remained on good terms,⁵² and it is tantalizing to note that Kirchheimer and Finley both wrote about the desirability of a democratic party system in which all political opinions had voices. Kirchheimer criticized a system in which "catch-all parties" built membership at the expense of the party's mission, while Finley criticized the "flawed logic" of a system in which "the opportunity to shape the policies of a government shall be narrowed to a periodic choice among contending, decision-making politicians" and which denied "large sectors of the population effective participation in the decision-making process."⁵³

⁵⁰ Rusche and Kirchheimer 2003: 5.

⁵¹ The phrases quoted are from Finley 1983: 108 and 7, respectively.

⁵² Lévy and Zander 1994: 26–7 n. 62 report that in 1962, "Kirchheimer conserva des relations intermittentes mais amicales avec Finley, qui évoque dans l'une de ses lettres la 'très agréable époque' de leur collaboration."

⁵³ Finley 1985b: 70, Krouwel 2003.

Desperately Foreign

I begin with a digression. After publishing my first essay on Finley in 2006, I sent a copy to Daniel Bell, an eminent sociologist who had, since 1940, been an active participant in American labor politics, *inter alia* serving as labor columnist for *Fortune Magazine*. Bell had spent hours talking to me on the telephone about Finley's teaching, about the political tension between them in the late 1930s and later, about their epistolary reconciliation (chronicled in some letters in the Finley Papers). Bell was a visiting professor at Cambridge in the autumn of 1986, and was upset that Finley died in the summer, before they could meet in person.

One of Bell's wonderful traits was his deep personal loyalty to friends. One friend was Franz Neumann, a major Frankfurt School figure, author of the classic study of National Socialism (*Behemoth*), an important intelligence analyst for the OSS, and a key advisor to the prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials, who died in an automobile accident in 1954.⁵⁴ As mentioned above, Neumann and Finley were close as well.

Bell read my comment that Franz Neumann "may have engaged in espionage for the Soviet Union" and immediately contacted me.⁵⁵ He was outraged to hear this about a man who had been his close friend and who was, he said, as anti-Soviet as he himself (this is also the impression given by the papers of Institute members). Bell himself had been militantly anti-Soviet since reading about the Kronstadt Rebellion at age thirteen, in 1932: he was a Young Socialist who spoke on street corners, but never even a Trotskyist.⁵⁶ Now, at eighty-seven years old, he was smart, alert, and friendly, but he had not read the 1998 reports based on KGB files that named Soviet intelligence sources during World War II. He could not believe that Neumann was one of these, and insisted that I clear Neumann's name.

⁵⁴ [Laudani 2013](#) has good comments on the wartime service of Neumann, Kirchheimer, and Marcuse.

⁵⁵ [Tompkins 2006](#): 106.

⁵⁶ [Bell 1981](#).

The Making of Moses Finley

This proved impossible. After checking published and some unpublished sources, I reported that Neumann apparently provided documentation to Russian agents concerning various issues, including British discussions of making a separate peace if the assassination of Hitler should succeed, allowing Germany to prolong its war with the USSR. Neumann's motives remain absolutely unknown: we know that he was friendly with some of his contacts, and also that he worried about a possible cold war following an allied victory. Contact with the Soviets ceased after July 1944.⁵⁷ This news did not calm Bell, and his distress brought home, half a century later, in a way documents cannot, the full tensions of those years. Bell's deep sense of personal loyalty was in conflict with his opposition to Stalin. No explanation of Neumann's motives would satisfy him.

This was the world in which Finley matured. His own letters, normally calm and considerate, show flashes of profound anger when recalling individuals and events from those years. And as with Neumann in 1998, we now have surprising news about Finley's association with the Communist Party. According to a report discovered by the Russian historian Svetlana Chervonnaya in Moscow archives, reported in July, 2012, John Stuart, editor of the foreign department of the *New Masses*, reported to his Soviet control on March 20, 1947 that "Finley is a devoted person, member of the Communist Party [and] has not determined his place at American Russian Institute ... and does not understand his tasks."⁵⁸ Finley had moved to the American Russian Institute from Russian

⁵⁷ Weinstein and Vassiliev 1998: 249–51. On Neumann's effort to promote postwar cooperation by German labor leaders in all sectors, see the memo from Robert Daniel Murphy, United States Political Advisor for Germany, August 22, 1945, in *Foreign Relations of the United States* III. 1044–5. Svetlana Chervonnaya reviews possible uses of the VENONA documents as sources at: www.documentstalk.com/wp/venona-files. Accessed September 20, 2013.

⁵⁸ To Ermolaev, Fond 5283, op. 22s, file 25, Corp. 142, State Archive of the Russian Federation. Fond (record group) 5283 contains the records of VOKS, the Russian abbreviation for Soviet Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Country. Ermolaev was at the time VOKS's representative in NYC; likely from MGB, working under the roof of the Soviet Consulate General. This information is provided by Russian historian Svetlana Chervonnaya, personal communication, July 9, 2012.

War Relief in the summer of 1946, to help manage a massive enrollment and fund-raising effort. Whereas Russian War Relief had the non-political goal of assisting war victims, the American Russian Institute was a unit of the National Council of American–Soviet Friendship, and had the goal of telling Americans the “truth about the present relationships between our two nations.”⁵⁹

The date is, in fact, one of the oddest features of this report. We have no other firm testimony, from Finley or from anyone else, that he was ever a party member. Even in later years, he declined to discuss the matter. His recorded statements contain some variance: denial that he was a party member when investigated in 1941 and when he reported to Rutgers administrators in 1951, and invocation of the Fifth Amendment when testifying before the Senate Internal Security Committee (chaired not by Joseph McCarthy but by Patrick McCarran).⁶⁰ Now we appear to have firm testimony from a comparatively reliable source dating Finley’s party membership far later than was generally expected, but coming in the very weeks when he was labeled a “wrecker” and fired at the American Russian Institute, and marking, as far as it is possible to determine, the terminus of all Soviet-related activity at all: I have found no record that he even participated in the 1948 presidential campaign of Henry Wallace, a rallying point for many on the American left.⁶¹

An informant cited in Finley’s FBI file reports that “Throughout his activities at the American Russian Institute ... Finley was meticulous in his efforts to retain the American Russian Institute at an unassailable level in relation to political controversy.”⁶² In the entire decade – from spring 1938, when Franz Boas took him on as the Executive Secretary of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual

⁵⁹ From an announcement of the expansion drive, dated August 12, 1946, in the files of the National Council of American–Soviet Friendship and on Council letterhead, at Tamiment Library, New York University.

⁶⁰ See [Tompkins 2006](#).

⁶¹ For additional details of Finley’s service at the American Russian Institute, see [Tompkins 2013](#). On the Wallace campaign, see for instance [Gall 1999](#): 238–50.

⁶² Finley FBI file.

Freedom, to spring 1947, when his contacts with left-wing organizations evidently ended, Finley's work seems to have focused on fund-raising, public relations, and, most intensively, assisting Soviet Jews during World War II at Russian War Relief.⁶³ Deeper research into the half-year he spent at the American Russian Institute may yield further information, but all evidence indicates that he was concerned with opposing racism and discriminatory immigration, defending civil liberties, and (in the late 1930s) criticizing German National Socialism. On some of these matters, especially race and immigration, his positions were well ahead of either of the major political parties. At the same time, he was widely portrayed as a "Stalinist" promoter of totalitarianism. When he returned to Rutgers to lecture on "Democracy Ancient and Modern," he assailed "elite democracy theory" and emphasized the need for "participation."⁶⁴ He did not need to mention that American laws between 1940 and 1957 had restricted participation and criminalized too many participants.⁶⁵

How to assess all this remains a challenge. Too often, we are left with shards of evidence, and interpretation is as chancy and laden with antecedent commitment as interpretation of a Greek inscription: "desperately foreign" seems apt. Finley participated in several intellectual movements in the 1930s, and one effort of this essay has been to show the particular significance of the Frankfurt School. We now know that most of this group was anti-Stalinist as early as 1938, but also that two members apparently engaged in espionage.⁶⁶ At the same time, Finley's political *activity*, while never "criminal," was likely to the left of some of his Frankfurt School friends. That may be one reason for Leo Lowenthal's happiness in 1947, when, one month after Finley was fired at the American Russian Institute, he informed Max Horkheimer: "I have promised Mr. Finley, né Finkelstein, that he can give you as a reference for Stamford [*sic*]. Thank God he has finally followed my advice

⁶³ See [Tompkins 2006](#) and [Naiden 2014](#).

⁶⁴ [Finley 1985b](#): *passim*.

⁶⁵ Further details: [Tompkins 2006, 2013](#).

⁶⁶ Neumann and Paul Massing. [Weinstein and Vassiliev 1998](#): 249–51.

to start an academic career.”⁶⁷ “Thank God” may be a sigh of relief that Finley was at last separating himself from a group that Lowenthal had no reason to trust, however worthwhile Finley’s work had been there. But this is, like so much else in Finley’s early career, only a conjecture.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Letter dated April 19, 1947. Leo Lowenthal Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard College Library. I thank Professor James Schmidt of Boston University for his very valuable assistance.

⁶⁸ I have left one document to the side in this study: George Watson’s *Sewanee Review* essay on Finley’s early years, [Watson 2004](#). Watson lived in Cambridge and knew Finley well. The quotations he provides are fascinating. But he says little that is explicit about the 1930s, and I can find no confirmation of his claim that Finkelstein “organized” ([Watson 2004](#): 133) the disastrous announcement attributed to 400 American intellectuals stating that Stalin would never sign a treaty with Hitler. This appeared only a few days in advance of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, and forced serious career revision by many on the left. The summer of 1939 was an extremely active one for Finley, and is fairly well documented. It is hard to believe that with all his other work for Franz Boas he would have had time to lead the work of the “Committee of 400,” although one can never be sure. See [Tompkins 2006](#) on the summer of 1939, and 117–18 on the Pact itself.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPACT OF *STUDIES IN LAND
AND CREDIT*

PAUL MILLETT

Keith Hopkins Meets Moses Finley

In the 1980s the Institute of Historical Research commissioned video recordings in which senior historians were interviewed for posterity by junior colleagues. In October 1985, Keith Hopkins, recently appointed to the Cambridge Chair of Ancient History, interviewed Moses Finley.¹ There are plenty of flashes of the familiar Finley as he sets Hopkins to rights in his questioning. As the interview progresses, Finley plainly tires, making slips over dates and events. He died less than a year later, in June 1986. The impression is of an interview that is collusive rather than inquisitorial; but the body language of both interviewer and interviewee is instructive. It remains an intriguing encounter, suggesting how Finley viewed, or wanted to view, his career in retrospect.

Hopkins begins by asking Finley how his earlier experiences in America had influenced his work as an ancient historian. Finley responds with a contrast: in Britain, professional ancient historians have typically specialised in the Greek and Latin languages from the age of fifteen. He concludes: 'If they learnt anything else, it was on their own.' Hopkins, through a leading question, prompts Finley into asserting that this practice is 'killing the subject'. The debate shifts across to Finley's very different experience as a student in the

¹ An extended version of this chapter, including an appendix of recently published security-*horoi*, is available at www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/245064. Aspects of this chapter reflect my personal, intermittent contact with Finley, who supervised my doctoral research from 1976 to 1983. *Sir Moses Finley Interviewed by Keith Hopkins, 18th October 1985* (see 'Collections of Papers and Transcripts' in this volume's bibliography).

United States, after which Hopkins turns to Finley's 'relocation' to Britain in the mid-1950s. Finley explains how 'I had an opportunity to visit Oxford and Cambridge, for one term, to give some lectures. To my astonishment, I was offered jobs in both places, without having applied.' He relates how he was offered the Cambridge job without knowing it existed: 'I came back to say good-bye. I was leaving for home. I was told I had been appointed. Literally.' The discussion moves on to consider the basis of Finley's reputation, which had led to this enthusiastic acceptance at Oxford and Cambridge, forming the springboard for his decisive impact on the practice of Ancient History. Hopkins suggests: 'The book that made your reputation at that time, I think, was *The World of Odysseus*.' Finley replies: 'Yes and no. The book that made my reputation with people here was my dissertation, in fact, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*. *The World of Odysseus*, people like Hugo [A. H. M.] Jones were not very impressed with. They thought that it was pretty pop stuff.' That exchange serves to shift the conversation firmly onto *The World of Odysseus*, with no further mention of *Land and Credit*.

That piece of dialogue might seem representative of the place of *Land and Credit* in the Finley story. It may be worth a footnote for having helped to establish Finley's reputation at a crucial phase in his career, but with nothing like the resonances of his later work on Homer, slavery or democracy. In fact, the book could be presented as being for Finley an academic digression: in terms of conception and presentation, it resembles nothing else he subsequently wrote.² In what follows, no claim will be made that the book is 'the neglected key' to understanding Finley's own intellectual development and the remainder of his output. But its languishing as an undigested lump in Finley's writings may in part be remedied by tracing through its conception, birth and afterlife. Lurking behind this

² Literally a footnote in Scheidel et al. 2007: 360 n. 151 (see p. 52 below). *Land and Credit* seems awkwardly assimilated into Vidal-Naquet's early appreciation of Finley (1965): after an initial mention about method (114), comment concerning the non-commercial world of the *horoi* is tacked on the end (142–4).

is the relationship between *Land and Credit* and *The Ancient Economy*, appearing twenty years later.

The Making of *Land and Credit*

Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 B.C.: The Horos Inscriptions was published in 1952 by Rutgers University Press. Finley was forty, Assistant Professor at Rutgers, where he had been employed full-time since 1950. *Land and Credit* originated as his doctoral dissertation, successfully defended in the summer of 1950. The Preface to the book makes no mention of its origins, but the opening sentences are revealing in terms of expressed intentions, concepts invoked and detailed terminology.

While working on problems of money and credit, planned as the opening section of a book on business practices in the Greek cities, I soon felt the want of a systematic modern account of the guaranty aspects of credit. ... Since security is the external link between land, the basic form of wealth in the Greek economy, and credit, a full examination of this bond appeared essential as a prelude to the larger work on business practices. The social and economic aspects of land-credit relationships, in particular, seemed to require consideration alongside the juristic. Ultimately, I found it necessary, for reasons of substance as well as the limitations of space, to narrow the field once again, this time to the city of Athens. ... Otherwise, I have tried to be as thorough as I could. ... This book is intended as the first of several volumes, which will eventually embrace the whole of the city-state world ...

The planned book on ‘business practices’ never appeared; still less the intended ‘several volumes’. Both might seem to sit awkwardly with Finley’s later, professed outlook. ‘Business’, in the sense of purposeful commercial activity, makes no appearance in *The Ancient Economy*. Finley’s subsequent antipathy to book-length studies of individual *polis* states is well attested. Also, being ‘as thorough as I could’ might seem at odds with Finley’s later deftness of touch, reflected in his caricature of the ‘write-all-you-know-about *x*’ approach to historical writing. On the other hand, emphasis on land as the basis of wealth and on ‘social and economic’ as opposed to ‘juristic’ considerations, prefigure the direction his interests were to take.

The significance of *Land and Credit* for Finley's subsequent thinking harks back to its gestation and early evolution. There are clues in Shaw's valuable account of Finley's correspondence with Fritz Heichelheim, beginning in the early 1930s.³ Originally a lecturer at Giessen, in 1933 Heichelheim arrived as a refugee in Britain. After a spell at Nottingham University, he ended his career at the University of Toronto. It is clear from the letters that Heichelheim acted as Finley's early supporter; to the extent that, in 1947, he suggested that Finley apply for a research grant at Nottingham.

Finley began his doctorate in 1929 at the University of Columbia, where, aged seventeen, he had taken an M.A. in public law. After an uninspiring encounter with professors in Renaissance and Medieval History, he transferred to Ancient History; won over, he told Hopkins, by the compelling lectures of W. L. Westermann. In August 1932, Finley mentioned in his first letter to Heichelheim that he was 'writing [under Westermann] a doctor's dissertation on several problems of trade in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries'. Finley's first paper on Greek history, '*Emporos, naukleros and kapelos*', appeared three years later.⁴ Shortly after, the need to earn a living and then the war enforced a break in Finley's systematic research; an interlude that lasted almost ten years, until 1947. If Finley was precociously young when he began his doctoral work, on its resumption, he was at thirty-five significantly older than the 'standard' Ph.D. student.

Once the decision had been taken to re-enter the academic mainstream, funding was needed. Finley made a research proposal to the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC). Entitled 'Business Practices in the Greek City-States', it is preserved in the 'Heichelheim Dossier'. As identified by Shaw (188–9), the proposal provides significant insights into Finley's developing ideas on the Greek economy, locating *Land and Credit* within his wider thinking and introducing themes that would reappear in *The Ancient Economy*. Characteristic

³ Shaw 1993.

⁴ Finley 1935.

is the emphasis on the ‘non-modernity’ of the Greek economy. By way of illustration, he cites an observation from the Aristotelian *Problems*: ‘*But where a loan is involved, there is no friend: for a man is a friend who does not lend but gives.*’ The italics are Finley’s, stressing the unfamiliar ancient mentality. He continues: ‘Until we are prepared to understand Greek economic institutions and thinking on their terms, to “feel into” their way of acting and thinking (to borrow the term *empfinden* from Wilhelm Dilthey), we are examining not the economics of the Greeks but modern economics through a trick mirror...’. After castigating ‘Professor Gomme’, in his essay ‘Traders and Manufacturers in Greece’, for permitting ‘the spell of Adam Smith to bewitch the Athenians’, Finley reaffirms that ‘This book is an attempt to re-examine certain key economic and business practices in the Greek city-states without recourse to economics.’

That aim is borne out by Finley’s summary of the projected content. ‘Money and credit’ come first; also striking is the prominence given to ‘Bookkeeping practice and theory’. The ‘Summary and conclusion’ are characterised by ‘the absence of economic rationalism’, with specific reference to the work of Mickwitz.⁵ With hindsight, the list of contents displays a lack of realism, proposing to write in twelve months what was effectively a lopsided economic history of the entire Greek world, from 500 to 220 BC. In the preamble, Finley advises that, provided he can work full-time, he will need four months to research the source material, followed by eight months to write the book. Perhaps by way of anticipating concern over the magnitude of the task, Finley states that ‘the subject is one on which I have been working for many years’.

⁵ Motifs from the SSRC proposal recur in Finley’s later work. Assimilation of loan to gift reappears in *Land and Credit*: ‘this queer ethical principle’ (85; cf. 106). Gomme’s ‘Traders and Manufacturers’ is singled out for criticism in Finley’s contribution (1962a: 12) to the 1962 International Conference on Economic History: ‘a schoolboy version of Adam Smith’ (12). Bookkeeping crops up in *Land and Credit* (22, 257 n. 17, 206 n. 17); references in *The Ancient Economy* focus on non-modern aspects of Greek and Roman accounting (110–11, 116–17, 142). Mickwitz (1937, 1939) on absence of economic rationality is thrice cited in *Land and Credit* (250 n. 38, 257 n. 91, 271 n. 48); cf. *The Ancient Economy* (211 n. 6, 233 n. 43, 239 n. 33).

The SSRC turned down Finley's proposal, which was taken up by the American Council of Learned Societies, supplying a grant for nine months, from January 1948. In a letter to Heichelheim from early January, Finley describes himself as being 'pressed to finish my doctorate and obtain a teaching post while the GI program is still packing the colleges (with students and with money)...'. In an earlier letter (November 1947), Finley had expressed envy for Weber, apparently dashing off his *Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum* in only four months, when it took him just as long merely to research problems in the works of Demosthenes. Subsequent letters trace Finley's struggle to reduce his proposal into a workable project. From April 1948, he mentions a rough draft of sixty-five pages on *horoi*, making one part of the dissertation, which, he concedes, 'bears little relationship to last summer's outline. ... There seems little doubt that the actual dissertation topic will be the relationship between real property and credit in the Greek cities'. Then, in a letter from November 1948, he concludes that, for the substance of the dissertation, 'the *horoi* alone are enough'; as indicated by its eventual title: *The Athenian Horos-Inscriptions: Aspects of Land and Credit, 500–200 B.C.*

In the same letter, Finley complains that he is 'no longer a gentleman of leisure', having been appointed Lecturer at Newark College, Rutgers. This entailed the time-consuming working up of courses on 'Western Civilization'. (Finley in conversation later described the content of these survey courses as covering 'from primitive mud to yesterday afternoon'.) Then, in June 1950, he informed Heichelheim of the award of the doctorate, followed a month later by his promotion to Assistant Professor. The final, urgent step was the publication of what Finley described as his '475-page monster'. After a year of touting around, it was taken on by Rutgers's own university press. This was arguably in spite of, rather than because of, his supervisor. When Westermann was approached by the Rutgers Press to advise on Finley's manuscript, he concluded: 'I must say in frankness that, in my judgment, its publication is not really imperative. It is a good doctoral dissertation.' Perhaps he was unsympathetic towards the relative

breadth of approach in the dissertation, such as Finley had been dismayed not to find in Westermann's undertheorised entry on slavery in 'Pauly-Wissowa'.⁶

In the event, Finley ended the Preface to *Land and Credit* with a tribute to Westermann (xli), 'who long ago introduced me to the study of the ancient world and who has remained a source of inspiration and wisdom'. But there are also warm thanks for four further scholars, covering a range of disciplines. The only mainstream classicist was John Day, Professor of Greek and Latin at Columbia. Finley's acknowledgement might almost seem appropriate for a research supervisor; how Day had been 'unsparing of his time, to my great advantage, in discussing many questions that arose in the course of the work and in reading and re-reading the manuscript'. Dr Adolph Berger 'was most helpful whenever juristic problems needed clarification'. Berger was a historian of Roman law, a refugee from Fascism and a member of the École Libre des Hautes Études, a college founded in New York by French émigrés. Edward Rosen of the City College of New York was thanked as 'an able critic'. Rosen, who had begun a Ph.D. at Columbia under Westermann, had switched his topic to Copernicus, becoming an authority on early modern science. Finally, and most emphatically, there is praise for A. Arthur Schiller, Professor at the Columbia School of Law, 'who gave me my first realization of the proper place of legal studies in the field of history and who has been a rare guide and mentor ever since'. Schiller was another Roman lawyer, with additional interests in the law codes of developing countries.

It may be seen how the Preface to *Land and Credit* preserved the essentials of the original proposal for the SSCR, now to be extended over several volumes. While the book was in press, Finley wrote to Heichelheim (July 1951) that he

⁶ The disappointment was publicly expressed: Finkelstein 1936b. Finley later told (1980b: 52–5) of his unsuccessful aim of flashing warning signals to Westermann, in advance of the publication of *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (1955). Westermann's downplaying of Finley's thesis is quoted from an unpublished paper by Glen Bowersock, 'Westermann's Role in the Development of Ancient History in America' (n.d.: 9).

was 'committed to the next volume on land and credit'. What interrupted the project, at least in practical terms, was Finley's sacking by Rutgers on the last day of 1952, leaving him without a teaching post for the next twenty months. Finley told Hopkins of his fruitless efforts to find a job, repeatedly told by colleges: 'We would never have fired you, but we are not hiring you.' Writing was redirected towards an offer negotiated with the Viking Press to prepare a popular history of Greece; the first chapter grew into *The World of Odysseus*. Implicit in some of what follows is counterfactual speculation as to the likely outcome had Finley been allowed by circumstance to continue with his intention to write on ancient Greek business practices: a sequence of books resembling *Land and Credit* in content and presentation.

Some Characteristics of *Land and Credit*

The book bears the hallmarks of its doctoral origins: the interval between awarding of the doctorate and submission of the manuscript was too short to allow extensive change.⁷ Its 350 pages consist of just more than one hundred of text (3–107) with an almost equal number of pages of endnotes (195–300). This combination of text and notes effectively bears out Finley's claim in the Preface about being 'as thorough as I could'. The remaining hundred or so pages consist of the usual apparatus of abbreviations (301–3), bibliography (304–8) and indexes (309–32). There are two appendices containing texts of the *horos* inscriptions (118–76, 182–93). The book has as its core an extended analysis of approximately 155 of these texts; a further thirty were too damaged to be considered. Sporadic use of archon dates on *horoi* suggested a span of about one hundred years, from 363 to 267 BC.

Security-*horoi* are inscribed so as to indicate that the property at issue (typically, land and/or house) had been pledged as

⁷ Finley may have learned from the experience. By the 1970s, his advice to graduate students was: 'Minimum effort on the dissertation, consonant with certainty of the doctorate being awarded; then maximum effort in conversion into a major book.'

security, so warning third parties that the property was already encumbered. The sparse wording on the stones suggests that four categories of transaction were involved (but see below, pp. 54–6). Two encompassed apparently straight loan operations, with the property secured against money lent: *hypotheke*, literally ‘something put down’ and *prasis epi lusei*, approximately meaning ‘sale on (condition of) redemption’. This, Finley concluded (35), represented an entirely fictitious sale, to be conceived as a loan transaction. He argued that both *prasis epi lusei* and *hypotheke* normally involved substitutive as opposed to collateral security. The other two categories involved a process described on the *horoi* as *apotimema*, with the apparent sense of ‘measuring off’ (38). In the case of ‘dotal *horoi*’, the property was set aside by a husband to guarantee return of any dowry, should that prove necessary. ‘Pupillary *horoi*’ related to *misthosis oikou*, the leasing of property of orphans. If the legal guardian were unwilling to administer the property, until his ward came of age, it could be leased to a third party, guaranteeing its return plus payment of agreed rent by designating a portion of his own property.

Taken individually, each *horos* has little to tell; typically, a handful of words, indicating the category of operation, type of property encumbered, name of the creditor and a numeral (size of the obligation in drachmas). It was Finley’s contention that, considered as a statistical series, the *horoi* are more revealing (8). His findings are summarised in four statistical tables: one for each security operation, giving maximum, median and minimum figures for the debt owed against different types of property (172–6). Even so, the scholarly harvest would be thin, were it not for the testimony of the Attic orators, simultaneously reinforcing and cutting across the epigraphical evidence (29–30); reference to *prasis epi lusei*, so frequent on the *horoi*, is virtually absent from the speeches. Finley draws the reader into his introductory chapter ‘The Function of the *Horoi*’ (10–28) by recounting the story, from Demosthenes’ *Against Phainippos*, of the speaker’s extended hike around the boundary of Phainippos’ farm, vainly looking for *horoi*. There follow half-chapters on each of the four security types (29–52), with

five chapters analysing types of property (53–73) and different parties involved (74–117). Some twenty *horoi* name groups as creditors: demes, tribes, phratries, but chiefly eranists.

In assessing the characteristics of *Land and Credit* there is an effective control. By the kind of coincidence dreaded by researchers, while Finley was working on the *horoi*, so was another American academic. Finley wrote to Heichelheim in April 1948: ‘in the process of concentration on *horoi* I received one minor setback, about which I am quite annoyed. Meritt has a fairly sizeable number of unpublished *horoi*, all of which have been read, and will eventually appear in *Hesperia* in an article by John Fine. I wrote for transcripts, with the usual promise not to publish any texts and to acknowledge properly whatever use I did make of the content. He turned me down in a letter that is self-contradictory, on the face of it.’

As early as 1942, J. V. A. Fine, Professor of Greek History at Princeton, had been approached by Benjamin Meritt, representing the American School in Athens, to edit and publish *horoi* that had come to light in the Agora excavations. Fine agreed, but the war intervened. On resuming work, he realised that his original intention, a straightforward epigraphical commentary, would be inadequate (v). This was because his own analysis of the inscriptions seemed to contradict recent work by legal historians, notably Paoli and Meltopoulos.⁸ He went on to produce, in 1951, a ‘Supplementary Volume’ (IX) to *Hesperia: Horoi: Studies in Mortgage, Real Security, and Land Tenure in Ancient Athens*. The opening chapters transcribe thirty-five unpublished *horoi* from the Agora and a selection of *horoi* published elsewhere (1–40). After an introductory discussion (41–60), there are chapters for each type of security operation (61–166), and a concluding chapter on ‘Mortgage and Land Tenure’ (167–208).

In contrast to Finley, Fine takes an evolutionary approach to Athenian security operations, beginning with speculation on the *horoi* that fleetingly appear in Solon’s poetry. Along the way, Fine persuasively takes issue with Paoli’s and

⁸ Paoli 1930, 1933; Meltopoulos 1949.

Melotopoulos's theories that creditors routinely took possession of real property offered as security. But the 'big idea' in his final chapter is that land in Attica could not be alienated, through sale or seizure of security, until the later fifth century. Fine argues that the upheaval of the Peloponnesian War so loosened traditional practices that real property could now formally change ownership.

The relative timing of Fine's and Finley's publications meant that Finley was able to include the Agora *horoi* in an appendix (182–93), but could not integrate them into his statistical analyses. It would have increased the number available by one sixth, to 220. Several reviewers expressed puzzlement that two scholars, working less than fifty miles apart, could focus on the same body of material without apparently being aware of each other's existence. Finley's letter to Heichelheim shows that this was not quite true. But what also struck reviewers was that the two books were significantly different in their conception, presentation and conclusions.⁹

Fine's presentation makes no concessions in terms of accessibility. He first confronts the reader with epigraphical texts and detailed commentaries (gathered by Finley in appendices, with minimal comment). But crucial is the distribution of material between text and notes: footnotes for Fine, endnotes for Finley. Both authors engage closely with the extensive, pre-existing literature on real security in the ancient Greek world, almost exclusively juristic in character, resulting in a lot of intricate argumentation. Whereas Fine incorporates this detail directly into his text, Finley handles it in the endnotes in bite-sized chunks (some are admittedly quite big bites). Also, Fine introduces into his text stretches of untranslated Greek; Finley includes Greek script only in the endnotes.

⁹ Fine and Finley were reviewed together by Dorjahn (1954), Gluskina (1957), Michell (1953), Rodewald (1954), and Wolff (1953). As a graduate student, I asked Finley whether, after publication of *Land and Credit*, he had any contact with Fine. He described having briefly met him on a visit to America. Fine, who had been seriously injured in a car accident, wanted to talk about his son (J. V. A. Fine Jnr) and his important work as a historian of the early Balkans.

All translations from Greek are by Finley (195 n. 2), which ties in with the seemingly confident knowledge of Greek implicit in the endnotes to *Land and Credit*. This needs saying in light of later murmurings that Finley, for a Professor of Ancient History, did not know much ancient Greek. Lloyd Jones referred in a British Academy lecture to: ‘A distinguished ancient historian, perhaps not especially skillful in linguistic or aesthetic matters ...’.¹⁰ But readers who persevere with the endnotes of *Land and Credit* will encounter discussions of ancient lexicography, Greek orthography, textual variants and emendations, translation of key Greek terms, differing dialectical forms, correction of errors in Liddell and Scott, quibbles over Latin headings in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, appreciation of linguistic niceties and argument over authenticity of individual texts.¹¹

All this has implications for impact. Finley’s preference for letting the endnotes take the scholarly strain means that his text remains relatively clear and uncluttered. The end product is readily accessible to non-specialists. De Ste. Croix as reviewer commented on the absence of Greek from the text, describing the book as: ‘boldly designed to appeal not only to specialists in Greek history but also to all those interested in the development of legal and economic institutions’.¹² Such is not the case with Fine’s *Horoi*; but, save for the final chapter, there is not much that would engage non-specialists. He claims it as a virtue that, as an epigrapher, lacking ‘any formal legal training’, he can: ‘approach the subject free from all preconceived notions derived from other legal systems’ (vi). This

¹⁰ Lloyd Jones 1981: 59. Finley told Hopkins how Westermann instructed him, prior to beginning research, to learn Latin and Greek. He gave it about a year, later marrying his Latin tutor, Mary Moscovitch.

¹¹ Something of Finley’s early ‘philological approach’ may be appreciated from unpublished items in the author’s possession. A projected ‘thesaurus’ (Finley’s word) of two hundred handwritten pages gathers annotated references to Greek terms relating to aspects of economy and society (beginning with *agein*, ending with *oneomai*). ‘I abandoned the plan before long’, wrote Finley. But two entries, on *echein* and *kratein*, provided material for a linguistic appendix to Finley’s dissertation on the disputed phrase *echein kai kratein*. Finley stated his intention of publishing (204 n. 11) ‘a detailed analysis of the phrase’, which never appeared. The piece that survives is reproduced as Appendix II to the version of this chapter at www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/245064.

¹² de Ste. Croix 1953: 450.

statement may have been in part intended to distance himself from Finley's work. As will be seen, Finley's reputation in the early 1950s was primarily as a legal historian.

Fine seems to ignore the impossibility of eradicating contemporary Anglo-American ideas involving law, land and credit. This is explicit in his title, including the word 'mortgage', repeated through the text. By contrast, here is how Finley closes his introductory chapter (9):

Above all, the word 'mortgage' is to be avoided. In its long historical development, and even to a substantial degree in our own day, the mortgage is a peculiarly Anglo-American instrument. ... To identify the mortgage with ancient Greek institutions, whatever similarities there may be, is to confuse and ignore essential differences in legal thinking and economic context and to evoke by association totally erroneous notions of what happened in Athens when one man borrowed from another and offered his house or land as security.

The reader is directed to a long, bibliographic endnote (201 n. 31) on the comparative evolution of English and continental mortgages. Right through *Land and Credit*, Finley is in dialogue with modern comparative material, indicating thereby what seems different and significant.

The immediate response to Fine's book was certainly favourable.¹³ Typically, the bulk of each review was taken up with summarising the content of the book, with praise for a painstaking work of scholarship, concluding with an expression of either cautious support or scepticism for Fine's theory about alienability. After that, the book seems to have sunk almost without trace, save for appearances in more technical treatments of Athenian law. Even Fine's careful publication of the Agora *horoi* has been superseded.¹⁴ The aspect of Fine's treatment that occasionally resurfaces in more general literature is his theory about the inalienability of land in Attica.¹⁵ It received disapproving mentions from Finley in his paper 'The Alienability of Land in Ancient Greece'.¹⁶

¹³ Notably, Pringsheim 1952.

¹⁴ Lalonde 1991.

¹⁵ As by Asheri 1963: 2–3.

¹⁶ Finley 1968e: 238 nn. 1, 10.

There is one area in which Fine's book has a definite edge over *Land and Credit*, describing the appearance and physical fabric of the *horoi* (43–6). Some of Fine's information has surprising implications. The prime purpose of the *horoi* is presumed to have been publicity, warning off possible third parties. But two inscriptions (Finley nos 39, 135) have letters respectively 7 mm and 1 cm high: hardly conspicuous. Another *horos* (Finley no. 2) was apparently not inscribed, but painted in black letters. If so (the *horos* has been lost), that has implications for the existence of a mass of painted 'inscriptions' that has disappeared forever, including those possibly on pieces of wood.

Land and Credit: Contemporary Responses

Land and Credit differs from pre-existing, juristic literature by relating legal issues to the actualities of Athenian economy and society; as Finley expressed it, 'What happened in Athens when one man borrowed from another...'. He suggests that the process would typically involve creation of an obligation, affixing of *horoi* in front of witnesses, repayment of the debt as agreed and removal of the *horoi*, 'all without undue fuss or fear' (18). Throughout *Land and Credit*, Finley takes issue with excessive legal formalism, quoting with approval Wilamowitz how (27): 'rustic village relationships and the economy of the peasant lay at the foundation of Attic law'.¹⁷

In light of Finley's later career, it is the socio-economic aspects of the book that have attracted attention. But the primary focus of *Land and Credit* is 'the law' in ancient Greece. Ancient law formed the basis of Finley's scholarly reputation, as it then existed. It was certainly from legal historians that *Land and Credit* received its most searching reviews.¹⁸ Arguably

¹⁷ Finley repeatedly opposes Paoli's approach to Athenian law, 'with its intricate legal constructs, including the introduction of hypothetical and fictitious stages in the history of the institutions in order to overcome the absence of essential documentation' (200 n. 28; cf. 202 nn. 1–2, 224 n. 9, 236 n. 13, 237 n. 23). Finley told the author how, on an early visit to Italy, he was unexpectedly invited to a sumptuous dinner in Paoli's considerable mansion. The host (it was their first meeting) smiled at Finley, wagged his finger, said '*apotimema*' several times, then nothing else all evening.

¹⁸ Notably by Wolff 1953 and Pringsheim 1953.

the most positive response came from Berger in the law journal *Seminar*. Berger compliments Finley on the sureness of his grasp of the discipline of Greek law, for which he considers that the book might serve as an almost complete bibliographical introduction (91). But he begins by reminding readers of Finley's earlier contribution to Greek law: a 'remarkable article' in *Seminar*, reviewing Pringsheim's *Greek Law of Sale*.¹⁹

The review is effectively an article, which Finley thought worthy of part-republication.²⁰ Finley begins by asking the then novel question (72): 'What can Greek law teach us about the Greeks – their economy, their social organization, their ideological trends?' But dominating the review is the question (82), 'What is Greek?', exploring 'The Problem of the Unity of Greek Law': the title of Finley's later paper.²¹ *Land and Credit* may be seen as a 'test-case', repeatedly addressing the non-unity of Greek law. It was envisaged that the process would continue (xl): 'If I am able to follow this volume with similar studies ... perhaps a firmer basis can be laid for a decisive examination of the unity (or disunity) of Greek law in the field of security.'²² In the event, *Land and Credit* remained the high-water mark of Finley's involvement with Greek law. In 'The Problem of the Unity of Greek Law', he remarked that his criticisms of unified treatments of Greek law 'have not been taken seriously by the jurists, but I must add that I have never seen them answered either'. This seems unduly pessimistic. It could be argued that in Britain and the United States the non-unity of Greek law has become the orthodox view.²³

If law was the dominant concern in *Land and Credit*, the contribution of economy and society was still substantial.

¹⁹ Pringsheim 1950; Finley 1951.

²⁰ Finley 1975e: 147–52.

²¹ Finley 1966a.

²² The message recurs throughout the book: 187 n. 17, 210 n. 26, 221 n.1, 226 n. 20, 226 n. 21, 275 n. 5, 276 n. 5, 295 n. 8.

²³ As in definitive studies by Harrison (1968: viii) and Todd (1995: 15–16). Significantly, Cohen addressed in his editor's introduction the apparently heterodox title of Gagarin and Cohen's *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Law* (2005). Gagarin's contribution, 'The unity of Greek law', is actually a reaffirmation of Finley's position (though offering the possibility of shared aspects of legal procedure).

This is evident from reviews that acknowledge the breadth of the book, envisaging an audience beyond legal experts.²⁴ The scope of the socio-economic content of *Land and Credit* is apparent from Finley's follow-up paper, 'Land, Debt and the Man of Property in Classical Athens'.²⁵ Briefly, its main theme is that, in so far as the *horoi*-inscriptions have nothing to do with impoverished peasants, the borrowing they record should not be tied in with fourth-century 'decline'. Rather, the *horoi* reflect 'intra-class' borrowing by relatively wealthy citizens for non-productive purposes. Moneylending was essentially non-institutional, credit rating was largely a matter of gossip, and there was no market as such in landed property. Wealth was seen as desirable; not as an end in itself, but to secure for its owner freedom from economic activity. Both book and article culminate with the demonstration (114–17; 74–6), combining legal process with socio-economic practices, that security in Athens was predominantly substitutive.

The paper has been singled out as pivotal for Finley's writings by Mohammed Nafissi, in which he embraces aspects of Weber, Polanyi and Finley.²⁶ Nafissi describes *Land and Credit* as (200): a 'seminal text, which perhaps more than any other established Finley's scholarly credentials and ensured his warm reception at Oxford and Cambridge'. But he also reads 'Land, Debt and the Man of Property' as marking the beginning of a crucial phase in Finley's work, through association with Karl Polanyi, whom Finley encountered in the early 1950s. Nafissi finds in the article (209) 'clear evidence of Polanyian influence', citing a letter from Polanyi to Finley (August 1953), in which he suggests that (214), 'In focussing on "the man of property" ... the sociological significance of your *horoi* results becomes patent.' But that extract should be read in conjunction with Polanyi's contemporary review of *Land and Credit*. According to Polanyi, 'His work represents a contribution to that secular debate on the classical Athenian economy, the so-called *oikos*

²⁴ As by Gernet 1953; Harrison 1954.

²⁵ Finley 1954.

²⁶ Nafissi 2005; cf. Nafissi 2004.

controversy, and its main question: To what extent was that economy primitive and archaic, to what extent modern – that is, commercial and capitalistic?’ It should be noted that there is no explicit reference in *Land and Credit* to the ‘primitivist-modernist debate’.²⁷ Polanyi seems to be making the running, seeking to assimilate Finley’s work to his own ideas.

Plenty of material scattered though *Land and Credit* ties in with Finley’s later writings; notably *The Ancient Economy*. There are the passing references to Weber, specifically to his *Agrarverhältnisse* (65, 68, 257 n. 91, 258 n. 98); and not always with complete agreement (293 n. 85). Almost thirty years later, the final chapter of *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*, on ‘Max Weber and the Greek City-State’ (88–103), opened with warm appreciation of *Agrarverhältnisse*, but ended with criticism of Weber on the apparent ‘irrationality’ of aspects of the Greek *polis*.²⁸

***Land and Credit* and Posterity**

The afterlife of *Land and Credit* is here divided into four unequal sections: publishing history, reception in textbook and synoptic studies, overlap with specific studies of Athenian economy and society, and items directly engaging with its content and argument.

The ongoing impact of *Land and Credit* is in part tied in with its subsequent publishing history. That the book had no copyright may explain its unauthorised reissue some twenty years later by the Arno Press.²⁹ An annoyed Finley was mollified by being appointed as advisory editor for Arno’s reprint series on Ancient History. In 1985 there appeared (with Finley’s

²⁷ Polanyi 1953: 234.

²⁸ Finley 1985a. Appearances of Weber in *The Ancient Economy*: 26, 117, 122, 125, 138–9, 182, 192, 205 n. 4, 229 n. 91, 239 n. 32.

²⁹ Finley 1973b. Arno had been anticipated in bringing *Land and Credit* ‘back into print’. A visit to Thornton’s Oxford bookshop in the early 1970s brought to light a bootlegged copy. Someone had borrowed the Ashmolean copy, photocopied every page and bound them up. A bemused Finley speculated as to who might have been willing to go to the trouble and expense. It is unfortunately not possible to assess the impact on Albert Einstein of the copy of *Land and Credit* sent to him by Finley, in January 1953, in thanks for his unsuccessful efforts to find academic funding (Finley correspondence, Darwin College, Cambridge).

permission) a corrected reprint of *Land and Credit* from the Transactions Press, based at Rutgers. The book, published shortly after Finley's death, contained a new introduction (pp. vii–xxxvii), with its own, brief history. As a graduate student in the late 1970s, it seemed a useful project to rework Finley's statistical tables from *Land and Credit*, including Fine's Agora *horoi* and all other *horoi* that had subsequently been published. The total of additional inscriptions was about sixty, increasing by one third the number available to Finley. Fortunately for all concerned, the new *horoi* seemed to bear out, and in certain cases strengthen, Finley's conclusions. At his suggestion, these findings were prepared for publication in 1982, with texts of *horoi* not printed in *Land and Credit*, in *Opus*, the Italian journal of ancient social and economic history. This article, with minor additions, reappeared as the introduction to the Transactions edition of *Land and Credit*.

Finley had warned in *Land and Credit* (224 n. 9) that the distribution between types of *horoi*, as indicated by *hupotheke* (7%), *prasis epi lusei* (66%) and *apotimema* (27%), might reflect chance results of excavation. In the event, the recalculated distribution remained relatively unchanged: respectively 5%, 65% and 30%.³⁰ The additional *horoi* supplied more than twenty figures for loan sums and security operations, on top of the ninety available to Finley. The revised figures for median values were (figures from *Land and Credit* in brackets): *hupotheke* 750 (525), *prasis epi lusei* 1,100 (1,050), *apotimema* 1,500 (1,700). No creditor's name appeared on more than one *horos* (but see below, n. 33); at least sixteen of those named on *horoi* occur in Davies's register in *Athenian Propertied Families*.³¹ Andreyev noted that approximately half those *horoi* mentioning 'land' were found in or near the deme of the creditor, suggesting that lender and borrower might have been approximate neighbours.³² All this seemed to strengthen Finley's conclusion

³⁰ The last thirty years have seen the discovery and publication of a further forty or so *horoi*; see Appendix I to the version of this chapter at www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/245064.

³¹ Davies 1971.

³² Andreyev 1974: 5–25.

that (83) ‘we are dealing with leading figures of the community in many instances, with men who were not “professionally” involved in money-lending’.³³

One outcome of this reconsideration of the *horoi* has a possible bearing on Finley’s overall conception of Greek economic history. The *horoi* datable by archons available to Finley gave a span of about one hundred years, from 363 to 267. Recent finds extend the range, by about eighty years, down to 184. That might seem retrospectively to support Finley’s decision to end *Studies in Land and Credit* in c.200 BC; as he put it (xl), ‘when Rome and the Romans moved into the Greek world’. He went on to justify this extended time span (xl–xli). ‘It is my belief that city-state economic practices were scarcely touched by the political struggles, wars and machinations set in motion by and against Philip of Macedon. Athens may have had its ups and downs, Alexander’s looting of gold stocks may have driven the price of gold downward, and the rule of the demos may have given way to the King’s agents and adventurers, but the basic ways of economic life did not change in essentials.’

Those words are repeated almost *verbatim* from Finley’s earlier submission to the SSRC. Identical sentiments were repeated some thirty years later, in the ‘Further Thoughts’ added to the second edition of *The Ancient Economy*.³⁴ Finley here responded to those criticizing his inattention to changed economic circumstances of the Hellenistic world. According to Finley, ‘the old Greek world ... underwent no changes in the economy that require special consideration despite all the political and cultural changes that did undoubtedly occur’. That passage was singled out for surprised comment (rightly so) by Davies as: ‘an astonishing *aposiopesis* – I had almost said abdication’.³⁵ It may be wondered whether Finley was not still mindful of his early work on security operations in Athens,

³³ Recent discoveries may record the same creditor on three different *horoi*; see Appendix I in the version of this chapter at www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/245064, nos 11, 12, 27.

³⁴ Finley 1985a: 183.

³⁵ Davies 2001: 11–12.

and their apparent stability, from late classical through the early Hellenistic period.

References to the *Land and Credit* in Finley's later writings served to keep it in the academic eye. A selection of *horoi* in translation, with commentary clearly based on *Land and Credit*, is included in the 'Ancient Sources' section of Austin and Vidal-Naquet's influential textbook.³⁶ Although the book continued to be cited in textbook studies of Greek economy and society, through time its presence understandably waned.

The fleeting appearance of *Land and Credit* in a recent synoptic study has been noted.³⁷ But aspects of *Land and Credit* may be matched against the idea of 'structure and performance' that is the deliberate theme of that book. In the chapter 'Law and economic institutions' (113–43), Frier and Kehoe consider the extent to which Greek and Roman institutional and legal frameworks impeded or fostered economic growth. Specifically, they apply the methods associated with the 'New Institutional Economics' (NIE), emphasising the part played by 'transactions costs' inherent in economic operations, consequent on imperfect and unevenly distributed knowledge between the participants. Specifically, they note that (135) 'the Greeks and Romans generally lacked the systematic public registries that are necessary for conclusive resolution of disputes over ownership, boundaries, land use, servitudes, and liens'. In *Land and Credit* (13–4) Finley emphasised the 'primitive' character (his word) of Athenian record-keeping. It might seem that the apparently imperfect mechanism inherent in the *horoi* added significantly to the transactions cost in security operations. But Finley's negative assumption has been questioned by Rosalind Thomas.³⁸

The theme of Thomas's book is the interaction of oral and written, characteristic of Athens (2), where texts often functioned as an aid to memory (21). She challenges Finley on the perceived 'inadequacy' of the *horoi*: to be seen as a reflection

³⁶ Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: 368–70.

³⁷ Scheidel et al. 2007.

³⁸ Thomas 1989: 53–9.

of widespread non-written methods of validation and the relatively undeveloped use of the written word (59 n. 68). So Finley, who did not appreciate the possibilities of proof without writing (35 n. 68), was wrong to see absence of protection against fraud as behind the brevity of the inscriptions (58). Thomas identifies security *horoi* as epitomising the blending of written and non-written elements in the ancient use of documents, providing 'an extreme case where the mixture in fact explains the curious character of the written inscriptions' (55). Existence of a debt was marked by the physical presence (and location) of the *horos* stone, presumably set down with witnesses present, plus a 'slight written addition'. She associates the *horoi* with material objects from the Middle Ages, 'used as mnemonic aids or symbols of a transaction'. This helps to explain the elliptical nature of the inscription, never intended as a complete record of the transaction.

Finley wrote despondently about the possible manipulation of *horos* inscriptions on the basis of geographical distribution (59), citing the imbalance created by intensive excavation of the Agora area and the tendency of stones to be moved away from original locations. Osborne acknowledged these problems, but considered that the additional inscriptions available justified reassessment of the evidence.³⁹ Origin of creditors and location of the properties offered as security are interpreted as evidence for fragmentation of holdings: local creditors regularly appear in conjunction with land and house(s) and for house(s) alone, but rarely for land alone. The sensible suggestion is that the holdings most readily encumbered were those most distant from the residence. Osborne's deductions from the *horoi* are in the context of arguments that point towards the fragmentation of property holdings for wealthy Athenians, with owners choosing to live either in the city or in local communities (cf. *Land and Credit*, 62). However, Jones subsequently redeployed the *horoi* in support of the existence of farmstead residences through Attica.⁴⁰ On his reading, *horoi* marking land alone are

³⁹ Osborne 1985: 59–60.

⁴⁰ Jones 2004: 34–40.

evenly distributed between rural and urban areas; those marking a house alone are nearly all from urban contexts; those marking land plus house are unequally distributed between countryside (one third) and city (two thirds). Jones's main arguments have been briefly met by Osborne.⁴¹

Geographical location of the *horoi* forms a significant part of Shipton's analysis of Athenian *Lending and Leasing*.⁴² She deploys the testimony of security *horoi*, mine leases and leases of non-private land to explore the extent of the Athenian 'cash economy', questioning Finley's conception of the 'embeddedness' of the ancient economy (see below, p. 53). Cumulative evidence of citations of individual leasers and lenders is used to establish an 'index of prominence' (19–20), from 'A' (liturgists and those otherwise demonstrably wealthy) down to 'F' (individuals appearing only once, in the three sets of documents). She suggests that those citizens involved with the mines were of significantly higher wealth and status than land-leasers and *horos*-lenders (39–51, 111–16); thereby calling into question Finley's conclusion (80–1) that the world of the *horoi* is that of wealthier Athenians (52, 54–5).

The fragility of Shipton's conclusions has been in part demonstrated by Papazarkadas, who identifies a methodological flaw whereby numbers of land-lessees allocated to the 'F' category have been inflated.⁴³ Other questions relate to Shipton's handling of the *horoi*. Overall, there is her statement that (18 n. 9) 'a fourth century dating for the body as a whole is universally accepted by both editors (Fine, Finley, Millett) and others'. In fact, 'Millett' (see above, p. 49) reported a spread by archon date from 363 to 184, with no evidence of fourth-century clustering. This has implications for Shipton's argument about the relative status of those involved in mine-leasing and *horos*-lending: 'the evidence which has survived strongly suggests that wealthy men were much less important in the loans *horoi* than in the silver

⁴¹ Osborne 2005.

⁴² Shipton 2000.

⁴³ Papazarkadas 2011: 299–325.

mines' (52). Her figures, relating to liturgists, total nineteen (12%, where $n = 159$) for the mines, and only four (4%, where $n = 89$) for *horoi*. But liturgies were abolished by Demetrios of Phaleron in c.310, giving an approximate span of only sixty from 170 years for liturgists to appear in the *horoi*. Arbitrarily assuming an even distribution of *horoi* through time would suggest an 'equivalent' n for *horos*-lenders of twenty-five, giving a figure for liturgists on *horoi* of 13%. The figure may serve as an illustration of the perils of comparing like with unlike.

Lending and Leasing begins and ends (1–2, 93–5) by questioning Finley's identification of a 'wall' in the Athenian economy between landownership and money-based activities: metics with their money were unable to own land, at the heart of larger-scale credit relations. This she correctly identifies as 'a prominent theme in his work' (1), which had its origins in *Land and Credit* (77–8, 264 n. 17): 'The economic history of Athens might well be written with this as the point of departure' (cf. 22, 43, 83–4; restated in *The Ancient Economy*, 48). This represents a clear case of the concept of an 'economy embedded in society', responses to which reflect divergent approaches to the Finley model. For Shipton, her detailing of the economic activity of wealthy Athenians in leasing and lending suggests that (95) 'Finley's wall separating landed citizens from the world of liquid cash had to a large extent broken down in fourth-century Athens'. But implicit in Finley's model are substantial disposable funds in the hands of those citizens appearing on the *horoi*. Also, the almost complete absence of metics as lessees of mines and non-public land might seem to support the idea of an ongoing divide.

In *Lending and Borrowing*, I tried to show that the barrier, as identified by Finley, might relatively easily be breached by use of a citizen agent; there is one clear-cut case (Dem. 46.6).⁴⁴ But this seemed to remain the exception, given the range of sources of credit open to citizen borrowers, before having to fall back on impersonal loans from metic bankers and moneylenders.

⁴⁴ Millett 1991: 225–9.

In this way, the land/money barrier was not necessarily an ‘impediment’ in the way described by Finley.⁴⁵ But for Cohen, use of citizen agents was commonplace, so placing metic-and-slave banking at the heart of the Athenian experience.⁴⁶ The citizen agent idea is singled out by Frier and Kehoe as evidence for the ‘ongoing relationship between principals and agents’ in the Greek world: ‘bankers found many ways around this law [about land ownership] by channelling such loans through Athenian citizens’ (129–30). Their summary of the organisation of the ‘Athenian banking industry’ is based exclusively on Cohen’s book. By way of balance, Davies, contributing to the same volume, describes the extent to which a ‘rudimentary banking system’ and lending mechanisms in general facilitated gainful activity as ‘an unresolved and contentious matter’.⁴⁷

Undoubtedly the most telling engagement with *Land and Credit* has been in a sequence of papers by Harris.⁴⁸ In a pair of important articles, Harris argues that the threefold, formal distinction between types of security, maintained by Finley, should be discarded. He opts instead for ‘essentially one form of security which is referred to by two or more kinds of expression’.⁴⁹

With regard to *hypotheke* and *prasis epi lusei*, Harris demonstrates how, in a range of Athenian literary texts, creditors were presented as owners of the security involved, indicating that ‘the act of pledging a security could be regarded as a sale’ (364). But other passages seem equally emphatically to describe the borrower as retaining ownership (366–7). Harris interprets this divergence as a function of the absence from Athens of any formal procedure for agreeing the ownership of security. ‘Because there was no legally prescribed method of resolving the question, each person naturally tended to answer it in the way which was most advantageous to himself. And so

⁴⁵ For what it is worth, when I tentatively put this alternative formulation to Finley, he replied: ‘I wish I’d thought to put it like that.’ But perhaps he was being kind to a graduate student.

⁴⁶ Cohen 1992: 133–6.

⁴⁷ Davies 2007: 355.

⁴⁸ Harris 1988, 1993.

⁴⁹ Harris 1988: 358.

the creditor regarded himself as owner of the security, and the debtor acted as if it belonged to him' (367). This perspective explains why creditors, when inscribing *horoi* with third parties in mind, overwhelmingly preferred the language of sale. In the context of a law-court speech, with its circumstantial detail, the need to assert apparent ownership might seem less pressing. In the companion paper, Harris builds on the testimony of the ancient lexicographers to question the reasoning behind Finley's effective restriction of *apotimema*-type transactions to dotal and pupillary security.⁵⁰ He thereby takes the unifying argument in his earlier paper 'one step further' to embrace *apotimema* (75).

As Harris himself indicates, his merging of types of credit has found general favour.⁵¹ But what are its implications for the central themes of *Land and Credit*? A possible response would be to read Harris's deconstruction of legal categories as a radical extension of a tendency already apparent in the book. Finley wrote (8): 'It is a reasonable hypothesis that the Athenians had some purpose in maintaining this terminological distinction, and I have therefore clung to it throughout. At the same time, I should indicate that I am by no means convinced that the distinctions were very sharp in the fourth and third centuries BC. I find in the sources definite indications that the three types (that is, the uses of the three basic terms) tended to merge into each other.' But the gap in method that remains between Finley and Harris may be demonstrated by the former's comment on Demosthenes 37 (33): 'No summary can begin to give the flavour of this speech ... Seller and lender, rent and interest, your property and my property – the words tumble after each other and in place of each other with complete impartiality.' The virtue of Harris's reinterpretation is to demonstrate that the words are not at all impartial or imprecise, but have been chosen to have an appropriate rhetorical effect on the listener or viewer.

⁵⁰ Harris 1993.

⁵¹ Harris 2008: 190.

Harris's collapsing of *hypotheke* and *prasis epi lusei* is not particularly problematic for *Land and Credit*, since Finley made no substantive distinction between those categories. What of Finley's argument for the primacy in Athens of substitutive as opposed to collateral security, which is a major theme of the book? The final chapter emphatically closes (117): 'In Athens, the very idea of collateral is to all intents and purposes unknown even in the fourth and third centuries B.C. ... their law of hypothecation was fully adequate to the prevailing practice, the latter in turn geared to the level of money and credit of the era.' Paradoxically, the concept of all-embracing *apotimema* might seem to encompass the practice of substitution, which would arguably encourage initial negotiation of an appropriately valued security: neither too large for the borrower/lessee nor too small for the lender/lessor (46–7). However, Harris has reconsidered his earlier endorsement of substitutive security as characteristic of Athenian practice.⁵² Finley had in *Land and Credit* closely associated the limited role of collateral security with the absence of any effective market in real property. Harris cites *inter alia* his own work on specialisation of labour in Classical Athens (more than 170 occupations attested) in support of the idea of 'extensive commodity exchange in local and regional markets' (191).⁵³ He also cites ancient testimony for collateral security 'overlooked by Finley' (192–4).

This is not the place to assess in detail the effectiveness of Harris's overall critique of *Land and Credit*. That calls for a designated paper, engaging with individual texts, with particular reference to the inclusive interpretation of *apotimema* and collateral as opposed to substitutive security. What follows is by way of indicating possible avenues of approach.

What is typical? The possibility needs at least to be explored whether the texts cited by Harris as indicating collateral security do so as something out of the ordinary. If collateral security was the norm, why mention it? By the same token, are there

⁵² Harris 2008: 189–94.

⁵³ Harris 2002b.

any occasions where substitution is singled out, as if exceptional? Which comes first, value of security (substitution) or value of loan (collateral)? The answer might be: ‘it depends’, a crucial factor being physical divisibility of the security. Finally, how are we to conceive of markets and valuation? The evidential support for the existence of fully fledged markets in Athens offered by Harris is necessarily in shorthand form.⁵⁴ The relationship between Finley’s denial of ‘an enormous conglomeration of interdependent markets’, Harris’s ‘extensive commodity exchange in local and regional markets’ and a possible Athenian market in real property needs to be clarified and further explored. Similarly, the connection between property-valuation and price-fixing markets needs closer consideration. This places the debate arising out of *Land and Credit* back at the heart of the ancient economy.

Envoi

Part way through his interview with Keith Hopkins, Finley reflected on what he termed ‘proper historical writing’ and the part he had played in fostering it. He drew a contrast with the production of ‘forty-page articles’ on the detail of historical narrative: ‘You offend nobody. You are acknowledged as a good scholar. It is easier.’ He favoured instead the writing and teaching of history that was (as formulated by Hopkins) ‘morally and politically committed’ and even ‘socially subversive’. He emphatically agreed that his own preferred way forward was harder and made more enemies. The language is admittedly provocative, but ongoing experience suggests that something of that committed approach was already present in *Land and Credit*.

⁵⁴ Harris 2008: 191–2.

CHAPTER 4

FINLEY'S IMPACT ON HOMER

ROBIN OSBORNE

The World of Odysseus has been most classicists' introduction to Finley. Where *Studies in Land and Credit* and *Democracy Ancient and Modern* have gone through two editions, and *The Ancient Economy* four, *The World of Odysseus* has gone through at least nine, acquiring in 2002 both a Folio Society edition, with an introduction by Simon Hornblower, and a New York Review Books Classics edition, with an introduction by Bernard Knox. In this introduction Knox, unsurprisingly, calls the book a 'classic', and this verdict is now much repeated: we find it equally when N. S. Gill discusses the book on about.com¹ and when students at the University of Arkansas are set to review it as part of a course on Epic and History.²

One consequence of most classicists having read *The World of Odysseus* before, or early in, their time at university is that they have somewhat dim and selective memories of it. I was alerted to this by my own experience of returning to a book I thought I remembered well, and finding a quite different book. But the experience seems widely replicated. Knox claims 'the book has proved itself a classic in its field, as indispensable to the professional as it is accessible to the general reader' but in fact most professionals have sufficiently dispensed with it not to revisit it – however often they refer students to it.³ I take as evidence for this the way in which the content of the book is described.

Here is Knox's own description. He opens his introduction with the claim that 'Here, in a limpid, hard-hitting prose and

¹ ancienthistory.about.com/cs/book1/fr/finleyodysseus.htm.

² comp.uark.edu/~cmuntz/classes/epic-and.../finley_review.pdf.

³ Knox 2002: xvi.

with a bare minimum of footnotes, Finley set out to depict the world in which the Homeric epics had been composed.⁴ It is perfectly forgivable for Knox to remember that Finley denied that the 'world of Odysseus' was a Bronze Age world and take it to have been the world of the poet's own time, but in fact Finley was clear that what he was interested in was the world which the Homeric poems described, not the eighth- and seventh-century world in which 'one plausible view' holds that the poems were composed.⁵ 'The world of Odysseus', Finley wrote:

was not that of the seventh century BC, neither was it the Mycenaean age five or six or seven hundred years earlier. If it is to be placed in time, as everything we know about heroic poetry says it must, the most likely centuries seem to be the tenth and ninth ... Essentially the picture of the background offered by the poems is a coherent one. Anachronistic fragments cling to it in spots, some too ancient and some, particularly in the *Odyssey*, too recent, a reflection of the poet's own time.⁶

Or again, later:

This direct linking of right rule and the fruitfulness of nature is anachronistic, as is the notion of 'god-fearing'; they belong not to the time of Odysseus but to the eighth or seventh century BC, when the idea of a world ordered by divine justice had entered men's minds. They belong in the poems of Hesiod, not in the *Odyssey*. Everything that Homer tells us demonstrates that here he permitted a contemporary note to enter, carefully restricting it, however, to a harmless simile and thus avoiding any possible contradiction in the narrative itself.⁷

What Knox goes on to say in his introduction, which he largely devotes to illustrations of the problems of reliability in an oral tradition, illustrated from twentieth-century Crete, shows that he knows that Finley did not in fact set out to describe the world in which the Homeric epics were composed, but the slip is revealing. Nor does the blurb on the back cover of the NYRB edition, which seems carefully to rephrase Knox, manage much better. Not only does it rather curiously claim the book to have been 'Long celebrated as a pathbreaking achievement in the social history of the ancient world', but its

⁴ Knox 2002: v.

⁵ Finley 1954: 23; cf. 1954: 4.

⁶ Finley 1954: 43.

⁷ Finley 1954: 102.

statement that ‘*The World of Odysseus* is a concise and penetrating account of the society that gave birth to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – a book that provides a vivid picture of the Greek Dark Ages, its men and women, works and days, morals and values’ only makes sense if we think the birth of the poem took place in the tenth and ninth centuries, a claim Finley himself never makes. The NYRB edition also cites one George Fetherling in *The New Brunswick Reader* saying:

In fact, virtually nothing is known about Homer the human being except through study of his time, place and culture. This is the value of *The World of Odysseus*, one of an eclectic list of works being given new life by the New York Review of Books. His book is a valuable synthesis of what’s known for certain about Homer’s era and some of the events the poet describes. It’s one of those gemlike books distilled from a lifetime’s research and study.

Finley was, of course, just forty-two when *The World of Odysseus* was published – so much for ‘a lifetime’s research and study’, but the idea that this is ‘a synthesis of what is known for certain about Homer’s era’ is no less bizarre.

Nor are the peculiar memories (or readings) limited to US scholars. Simon Hornblower’s Folio Society introduction is equally unexpected in its view:

To simplify greatly but not too misleadingly, in its original 1950s incarnation *The World of Odysseus* had a negative and a positive aim. The negative no longer matters very much; it was the refutation of the idea that Homer was describing second-millennium BC Mycenaean Greece as revealed by the Linear B tablets ... The positive thesis is the use of comparative anthropology to argue that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reflect a real world characterised above all by a ‘total system of giving’ ...⁸

Finley in fact always made it clear that the decipherment of Linear B came after his book was written – he alludes to it in a footnote in the first edition as ‘important new evidence’ for the conclusion that the world of Odysseus was not the Mycenaean age.⁹ And his famous analysis of gifts never deploys comparative anthropology as part of its *argument*, though Mauss does indeed get a mention in the ‘Bibliographical Essay’, where

⁸ Hornblower 2002: xvii–xviii.

⁹ Finley 1954: 43. Subsequently when in 1977, he produced a second edition Finley commented in the Preface (1977c: 9) that ‘The decipherment of the Linear B tablets

Finley says: 'One must still go back to the pioneering study – unfortunately a fragment of unusual difficulty – of Marcel Mauss' if one wants 'a systematic account ... of gift-giving in primitive and archaic society generally'.¹⁰

But are all these verdicts simply the result of people relying on selective and distorted memories of the content? Knox has certainly reread Finley's own later papers revisiting *The World of Odysseus*, and Hornblower quotes from the book itself. The truth is that if we go back to the beginning we find that readers have puzzled over exactly what Finley was saying in this book from its inception.

As 'First published by The Viking Press in September 1954. Published on the same day in the Dominion of Canada by The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited', *The World of Odysseus* carried a preface by Mark Van Doren (1894–1972), of whom the Columbia College website writes:

Of all the stars in the long line of distinguished teachers at Columbia College, none have shone more brightly than Mark Van Doren. Nationally famous as a novelist, playwright, critic, editor, and poet (his *Collected Poems* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1940), at the College Van Doren is also remembered as the quintessential great teacher.¹¹

Van Doren tries to make sense of Finley's book as helping us understand the poems. He writes:

Mr. Finley has nowhere claimed to do more than he promised: namely to sketch the human society of which Homer conceived his heroes to be a part.

going on, immediately, to say that:

It is necessary to know such things as this whenever we read stories about other days than our own; it is necessary, that is, to be made aware of motives and morals which differ, whether in kind or in degree, from those we assume to exist among our contemporaries.¹²

and archaeology together have destroyed the old orthodoxy' ('that the world of Odysseus was on the whole the Mycenaean world'), and went on, 'I cannot resist pointing out that proper concern for social institutions and social history had anticipated what philology and archaeology subsequently found.'

¹⁰ Finley 1954: 160.

¹¹ www.college.columbia.edu/core/oasis/profiles/van_doren.php.

¹² Finley 1954: ix.

Later Van Doren enlarges on this theme:

What Mr. Finley hopes to save us from is the consequence of expecting Homer's heroes to behave exactly as we think we might behave in similar circumstances, or might have behaved had we been there. There are certain things about Homer's world, Homer's special world, which he thinks we are entitled to know in order that we shall not charge Homer with being unjust, or merely odd. And he tells us these things with the greatest clarity and good sense. It was an aristocratic world, for example – like Shakespeare's, and like Tolstoi's *War and Peace* ...¹³

But in between, and justifying this reference to Shakespeare, Van Doren has told us something further about what Finley has done in this book:

He reminds us that Homer, like Shakespeare after him, set his imagination free in a world that was earlier than his own yet by no means discontinuous with it. Shakespeare in his historical plays, whether English or Roman, reconstructed a vanished society which nevertheless was visible too – like as well as unlike the society of Elizabeth the Queen. A lesser poet would have confined himself to the unlikeness, and been forgotten fairly soon.¹⁴

When Finley's book was 'published in Great Britain by Chatto & Windus 1956', Van Doren's Preface had been replaced by a far less sophisticated 'Foreword by Sir Maurice Bowra' (1898–1971). Bowra's view of what Finley had done is quite different:

Mr. M. I. Finley ... has the independence to forsake the well-worn paths of Homeric criticism and to ask new questions. He has applied with great success his knowledge of institutions in many societies to the study of Greek society as Homer depicts it, and the conclusions which he draws are clear and convincing. Though Homer knew something about the Mycenaean past through the poetical art which he inherited from a long and ancient tradition, he composed for his contemporaries, and the picture which he gives of life on Ithaca had to be made intelligible to them as akin to their own. Examined on this assumption, the *Odyssey* is seen to be a living record of social conditions at the time when it was composed, and to tell us more about early Greek society than any other documents in our possession.¹⁵

¹³ Finley 1954: xi.

¹⁴ Finley 1954: x.

¹⁵ Finley 1972: 11 – Bowra's preface was retained in the Penguin Books edition in which I myself first read the work.

One reason why scholars have had so much difficulty working out what Finley is doing is that he himself never says. The first chapter, 'Homer and the Greeks', starts with Homer as the first epic poet and then pours into a discussion of who Homer was, how the Greeks imagined their past and what we know of that past, including reference to the 'undeciphered tablets of Crete and Mycenae'.¹⁶ The second chapter, 'Bards and Heroes', starts 'The tale of man's decline and fall has been told in many ways' – and then goes on to trace how it was told in Greece and to outline how Homeric poetry works.¹⁷ The third chapter opens with the number of ships in the *Catalogue of Ships* and how that is no more to be believed than army figures in the *Song of Roland*. It immediately goes on, making a fundamental but unsung move, to blend archaeology and textual information as if there was no methodological issue:

The world of Odysseus was a small one in numbers of people. There are no statistics and no ways of making good guesses, but the five-acre sites of the archaeologists, together with what is known from later centuries, leave no doubt that the populations of the individual communities were to be reckoned in four figures, often in three, and that the numbers in the poems, whether of ships or flocks or slaves or nobles, are unrealistic and invariably err on the side of exaggeration.

One of the smallest contingents in the catalogue of ships was led by Odysseus ... it is on the island of Ithaca ... that the world of Odysseus can chiefly be examined.

The island population was dominated by a group of noble families, some of whose men participated in the expedition against Troy ...¹⁸

At this point, we are launched onto Finley's major enterprise with no clear map of where he is going, and no methodological justification.

Unlike the blurb-writers, and perhaps because they did not need to avoid raising their eyebrows at what he had done, Finley's reviewers had no difficulty in understanding what he was doing, or seeing it as problematic. For whatever reason – political or academic – the first edition was not reviewed in

¹⁶ Finley 1954: 8.

¹⁷ Finley 1954: 17.

¹⁸ Finley 1954: 46–7.

US classical journals. The first scholarly review was in the Canadian journal *Phoenix*, where H. G. Robertson noted perceptively that ‘The book is pleasantly written and presents a clear picture. At certain points the clarity is perhaps partly due to some over-emphasis. Thus, we hear much of the heroes’ preoccupation with fighting and honour and perhaps not enough of their more humane qualities. The emphasis on class cleavage does a little less than justice to Homer’s practice of stressing personal characteristics rather than noble birth.’¹⁹

The US edition was also reviewed in *Mnemosyne* by W. J. Verdenius. Verdenius’s verdict was mixed. He began:

The first two chapters of this book, ‘Homer and the Greeks’ and ‘Bards and Heroes’, do not contain much of importance. The [next chapter](#), ‘Wealth and Labor’, is more interesting; especially the observations on gift-giving and trade are well worth reading. Chapter IV, ‘Household, Kin, and Community’, contains a number of striking remarks on social status, kingship, and guest-friendship. The [last chapter](#), ‘Morals and Values’, is equally illuminating.

He then took issue with the claims that there was no depreciation of peoples (suggesting the Trojans are depreciated), that divine justice was absent except ‘anachronistically’ and that Homer’s gods are devoid of ethical qualities. He ended: ‘The title of Finley’s book is somewhat misleading, for he repeatedly draws the *Iliad* into his picture.’²⁰

British and European journals noted the 1956 UK edition much more widely. Already in 1956 it was reviewed in *Gnomon* (by Hans Seyffert, who concluded that the book was ‘wertvoll’), *REA* (by Jean Defradas, who conceded the date of the economy and social system of Homer) and *Greece and Rome* (by E. R. A. Sewter of Newbury Grammar School, who found the book ‘scholarly without being pedantic, interesting, full of judgements that surprise, yet are obvious when one stops to think’).²¹

¹⁹ *Phoenix* 9 (1955) 188–9.

²⁰ *Mnemosyne* 4th series 8 (1955) 232–3.

²¹ *Gnomon* 28 (1956) 476; *REA* 58 (1956) 371–2; *Greece and Rome* Brief Reviews, n.s. 3 (1956) 162–3.

When W. B. Stanford reviewed the book in *Classical Review* in the following year he too picked up the issue of the title to which Verdenius had adverted:

The title of Dr. Finley's illuminating and enjoyable book could mislead ... Finley's book might have been presented, more accurately, if less attractively, as: 'Some explanations of the political, economic, and social organization of the heroic world as described by the two Homers, together with introductory chapters on the early Greeks, on the transmission of Greek literature, and on the composition and performance of the Homeric poems: to which are added a bibliographical essay, a map, an index locorum, and a general index.'²²

Stanford was uneasy with Finley's claim to be able to detect anachronism and Finley's application of a 'historian's licence' in attributing the world of Odysseus to the tenth or ninth century. He was also worried that Finley was insensitive to the poetry – 'At times the predominantly sociological approach seems to have caused an inclination to depreciate the poet's intelligence and the subtlety of his characters' – and goes on to suggest that the curious fact that, when suitors are interested in kingship, not in Penelope, the choice is left to Penelope, is a consequence of their actually being *suitors*.

It was predictable that T. B. L. Webster, who reviewed the book in *Antiquity*, would find Finley's discussion of the date hard to take.²³ Webster thought the material on gift exchange the best and most original part of the book. He went on:

At the end the author has interesting things to say about a new moral view of the gods which rests on a completely different principle. Here, as sometimes elsewhere, the author admits the contribution of the latest poets. Generally he speaks as if the world of Odysseus existed in time: 'the most likely centuries seem to be the tenth and the ninth' ... But, although it may be questionable what absolute date can be given to the *Odyssey*, it is more questionable whether an absolute date can be given to the world of Odysseus at all.

It was on the date question that Dorothea Gray, in her completion of J. L. Myres's *Homer and his Critics* (1958), took Finley on. She objected that 'to speak patronisingly of Schliemann's "pretty and rare success story" [Finley (1956) 46]

²² *CR* n.s. 7 (1957) 199–201 at 199–200.

²³ *Antiquity* 31 (1957) 42.

is to belittle a real renaissance in Homeric as well as in historical scholarship',²⁴ and later having summarised Finley's view on dating wrote:

It is worth considering, however, whether 'Homeric' society is not simply the poets' idea (inherited from their immediate predecessors but modified by their own experience) of what society was like when they events they are describing took place ...²⁵

Overall there seems to have been more or less universal recognition that what Finley said about gift-giving was illuminating, more or less universal scepticism about his dating, and some doubts about his disembedding of morals and values. Behind this lay the difficulty of working out Finley's methodology, and scepticism about such methodology as critics were able to deduce. The young Bryan Hainsworth in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* voices this most explicitly:

Finley is to be thanked for elucidating in language so free from jargon and technicalities the workings of society in the days before the supremacy of the *polis*. More open to dispute or clarification are the assumptions and methods by which this social world is extracted from the epics and the attempt to place it in time.²⁶

The most important impact on the wider world of Greek scholarship came almost immediately, and from a scholar who had not read, or not thought enough about, Robertson's observation in his *Phoenix* review about Finley's neglect of the humane qualities of Homeric warriors. Arthur Adkins's *Merit and Responsibility*, published in 1960, explicitly acknowledges *The World of Odysseus* as fundamental.²⁷ Later scholars – and above all Oliver Taplin in *Heroic Soundings* – would (rightly) take Finley to task for his claim (1954: 121) that there was a 'heroic code' which 'was complete and unambiguous, so much so that neither the poet nor his characters ever had occasion to debate it'.²⁸ This claim was swallowed whole and developed

²⁴ Myres and Gray 1958: 240.

²⁵ Myres and Gray 1958: 271.

²⁶ *JHS* 77 (1957) 319–20.

²⁷ Adkins 1960: 27 n. 3, cf. 57 n. 3, 58 nn. 10, 16, 60 n. 25.

²⁸ Finley 1954: 121; Taplin 1992: 6–7, 50–1, 71–2, 123, 166.

by Adkins.²⁹ Despite famous ripostes, in particular from A. A. Long, Adkins's work continued seriously to distort the possibility of understanding Homer for a decade and more, before the central plank of his view was neatly destroyed by Malcolm Schofield's '*Euboulia*' and the whole construction, at least as far as Homer goes, put to rest by Jeffrey Barnouw in his *Odysseus, Hero of Practical Intelligence: Deliberation and Signs in Homer's Odyssey*.³⁰

Adkins was, however, almost on his own in picking up ideas from *The World of Odysseus* and running with them. The book had virtually no visible impact on how the history of early Greece was written. Chester Starr, for example, has no mention of Finley's book in his *The Origins of Greek Civilization* of 1961, though this statement surely has Finley in its sights:³¹

In establishing the tempo of change across the Dark Ages, the historian must advance from the physical evidence, far more surely to be dated, and can use the hints of epic and myth solely insofar as they fit into the solid framework already at hand. To proceed primarily from Homer, or to label the early Greek centuries the 'Homeric Age' is to narrow our vision far too much ...

Nor did Desborough mention Finley in *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*.³² Tony Andrewes includes *The World of Odysseus* in the bibliography to his *The Greeks*, but in his text writes:

The conventions of Greek epic are no doubt partly artificial, as its language certainly is, and we need not try to think that any particular generation of Greeks lived in all respects the kind of life which the poems presuppose.³³

²⁹ Adkins's admiration for Finley's work seems to have been reciprocated by Finley's admiration for Adkins. Certainly, Finley went on to recruit Adkins to write *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece* (Adkins 1972) for the Chatto 'Ancient Culture and Society' series.

³⁰ Long 1970; Schofield 1986; Barnouw 2004. In 1977 Finley could still write, in the bibliographical essay to the second edition, 'Of recent books, two seem to me outstanding: A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* ... and the long, subtle and complex *Nature and Culture in the Iliad* ... by J. M. Redfield ... Atkins [sic] has elaborated his analysis in a series of articles ... The former is a reply to a sharp but on the whole not persuasive critique by A. A. Long ...' (1977c: 184).

³¹ Starr 1961: 162.

³² Desborough 1964.

³³ Andrewes 1967: 40. Andrewes and Finley were close friends, and in the Acknowledgements to this book Andrewes thanks 'Moses Finley, who gave time

That position would be repeated, with explicit reference to Finley, by Anthony Snodgrass in his *The Dark Age of Greece*.³⁴

Among Homeric scholars, Geoffrey Kirk dedicated his *Songs of Homer* to Finley, but went only part of the way with Finley's views when he wrote:

[T]he *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reveal a society, or a distillation of different societies, in which the rulers of the cities of Achaeon Greece were bound to each other not so much by kinship, which operated in certain cases, as by an elaborate system of gift-giving, which imposed reciprocal obligations without formal alliances or the necessity for a hierarchy of states ...

or again later in writing:

In this case, then, it seems possible that dynastic customs of the Dark Age have been imposed by singers of that period, *or their immediate successors*, on an earlier conception of Mycenaean kingship; but the part that could have been played by sheer confusion in the tradition should not be forgotten.³⁵

Other Homeric scholars in the 1960s and 70s make scant or no reference to *The World of Odysseus*. The book does not, for instance, figure in Gregory Nagy's *The Best of the Achaeans*, nor in *An Introduction to Homer* by Finley's Cambridge colleague W. A. Camps.³⁶ The one exception is J. M. Redfield's *Nature and Culture in the Iliad*, which describes Finley's book as 'a great achievement and ... one of the foundations of the present essay' only to go on immediately: 'I would point out one difficulty in it, however: having completed his reconstruction, Finley cannot quite locate it historically.'³⁷ In Rubino and Shelmerdine's *Approaches to Homer* it is Redfield who alone engages with Finley in his essay 'The Economic Man', where he writes:

At least one human good – *kleos*, enduring fame – is absolutely unavailable within the household. Thus the very proper stress placed by M. I. Finley and others on the primacy of the household should not lead us to ignore this other

and trouble on the most generous scale to reading and discussing various drafts, and saved me from many errors of fact and logic' (1967: vi).

³⁴ Snodgrass 1971: 392.

³⁵ Kirk 1962: 14 n. 2 (more or less reproduced in Kirk 1965: 39 n.), 142 n. 1.

³⁶ Nagy 1979; Camps 1980.

³⁷ Redfield 1975: 75.

aspect. There is, in fact, in the *Odyssey* a persistent tension between the aspiration to household self-sufficiency and the recognition that security and happiness are only possible in the context of a wider community ...

thus beginning what will become a much repeated criticism of Finley for underplaying the political.³⁸

To the general absence of engagement with *The World of Odysseus* in the thirty years after its first publication – an absence of engagement which itself enables Finley to revisit his own book in 1977 without having to do much serious self-defence³⁹ – there is one important exception. This is Anthony Snodgrass's paper 'An Historical Homeric Society?' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1974.⁴⁰ By tackling outright the fundamental question of whether the Homeric poems depict a historical society, Snodgrass not only drew scholarly interest to the issue which Finley himself had not addressed with serious arguments, but he also made considerations drawn from anthropological literature central to answering this question. It is Snodgrass, rather than, as Hornblower claims, Finley who made comparative anthropology central to the *argument* about whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reflect a real world. And it is through Ian Morris's further engagement with Snodgrass in his paper 'The Use and Abuse of Homer' in *Classical Antiquity* for 1986, and its subsequent anthologisation, that Finley's place in the argument has been kept in view – for all that Morris thinks that Finley identified the wrong historical society and for the wrong reasons.⁴¹

³⁸ Redfield 1983: 218–47 at 231.

³⁹ Nevertheless, the critiques which I have already quoted render very remarkable what Finley writes in the 1977 Preface (pp. 9–10): 'Homeric scholarship has become notorious for its unmanageable quantity ... A few experts have read more of it, Homeric and Mycenaean, than I have, regularly and systematically, in the past quarter-century, but there cannot be many ... However, I have found no cause to alter in any essentials the three substantive chapters [by which he means chapters 3, 4 and 5]; on the contrary, the picture I drew in those chapters has, I believe, been further confirmed by more recent scholarship. In my presidential address to the Classical Association in 1974 ... I said that I proposed to re-examine in particular the account of the common people in Chapter 3. Even there, in the end, I found no better or alternative formulation beyond a slight change in nuance in the wording.'

⁴⁰ Snodgrass 1974.

⁴¹ Morris 1986b.

In as far as Finley's *World of Odysseus* continues to provoke engagement, it is from scholars who believe that Finley got fundamental things repeatedly wrong. Those scholars believe Finley's views to be worth engaging with is itself a sign of the position that the book has continued to enjoy in the field generally, but it is not itself a sign, as Finley himself seems to have taken it to be, that *The World of Odysseus* had won the debates. It is worth noting the areas in which scholars now believe Finley to have been mistaken.

Some of these are at first sight surprising. Morris, for instance, notes Finley's misunderstanding of the world of Homeric law. When he writes that:

Finley's claim that the world of Odysseus was one 'of strictly private rights privately protected' is not accurate. The settlement of disputes was not governed by rigid rules, but a level of integration above that of the household was recognized in Homer, and the Homeric pattern of judgments does not seem very different from the Hesiodic ...

he draws attention to one of Finley's more surprising moments.⁴² For Finley's claim that:

The growth of the idea of crime, and of criminal law, could almost be written as the history of the chipping away of that early state of family omnipotence. The crumbling process had not advanced very far by the time of Orestes and Telemachus ...

would surely not have withstood a reading of the Shield of Achilles – a text which, remarkably, Finley never once quotes in *The World of Odysseus*.

Hans Van Wees, whose *Status Warriors* is perhaps the closest any scholar has come to an attempt to redo the whole *World of Odysseus*, directs attention to Finley's picture of the household. He points out that

Since *The World of Odysseus*, the term *oikos* is often used to denote the Homeric household. In view of the importance the household is supposed to have had to the heroes, it is worth pointing out that *oikos* in Homer is not the value-laden word it is in classical Greek ... *Oikos* in Homer mostly means 'house' or even

⁴² Morris 1986b: 104.

'room' (e.g. 1.360), although it is also used for the resources (not the members) of the household (e.g. 4.318).⁴³

More recently Jeffrey Barnouw, picking up and making explicit what Hainsworth had more gently alluded to, has pointed out the serious methodological problem underlying the whole of Finley's book: 'Finley's interpretation of the *Odyssey* both underlies and follows from his construction of "the world of Odysseus" in a circularity teetering between hermeneutic and vicious.'⁴⁴

When I offered to explore *The World of Odysseus* for this examination of Finley's impact it was because of my own memories of reading the book when I was sixteen. Curiously what had stuck in my memory turned out to be in the 'Note on translations of Homer' at the end of the bibliographical essay (an essay, incidentally, whose original version is much more interesting than the updated versions that followed). I had remembered that note as an attack on E. V. Rieu and for insisting that the same word needs to be translated in the same way every time it occurs. In fact all that Finley says of Rieu is that since his is a modern colloquial Homer it is ruled out for these purposes, and what he says on consistency is simply that the test that needs to be passed is 'the care with which words meaning "treasure", "guest-friend", "god-equal", and the like, are rendered, even at the expense of euphony or at the risk of monotony'.⁴⁵ The *World of Odysseus* that I had reconstructed in my head was a careful analysis of Homer's text, bringing out how the various 'institutions' flagged up there by terms like *oikos* and *xenos* worked. I had, in fact, made it a reconstruction of a literary world, and I had expected to want to argue here that the coherence of Finley's reading of the Homeric world in institutional terms had played a significant part in the move from the analytical debates of the 1950s to the unitarian readings that dominated Homeric scholarship of the 1980s and 90s.

⁴³ van Wees 1992: 331 (n. 52 to ch. 2). So independently Ulf two years earlier: 'In den Epen scheinen die Oikoi weder <politisch> noch <wirtschaftlich> autarke Einheiten zu sein': Ulf 1990: 189.

⁴⁴ Barnouw 2004: 237.

⁴⁵ Finley 1954: 162.

As you have just seen, that is not the story that I now think can be sustained from the published evidence. And on rereading *The World of Odysseus* this causes me less surprise. For Finley himself never *reads* the Homeric poems, that is he never reads them as continuous text. He visits them for episodes, and he makes sense of those episodes by inserting them into a world the shape of which is never argued for. Take one example, chosen at random. In the chapter ‘Wealth and Labor’ Finley tells the story of Odysseus being accused of being ‘a master of sailors who traffic’ when he refuses to take part in games (*Odyssey* 8.162), and notes that ‘To the insult in Phaeacia he first replied with an indignant speech, but Odysseus, of all men, could not establish his status with words.’⁴⁶ Finley tells of Odysseus throwing a great weight, and then goes on:

Possibly there were men, a very few from among those who were not men of games, living in the interstices of society, who traveled in many-benched ships and trafficked. Yet there is no single word in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* that is in fact a synonym for ‘merchant.’ By and large, the provisioning of the Greek world with whatever it obtained from the outside by peaceful means was in the hands of non-Greeks, the Phoenicians in particular.

Though the ‘no single word’ argument is one readers of Finley are familiar with from its use elsewhere, above all in *The Ancient Economy*, it is hardly powerful evidence here, where Finley is not denying the existence of traders (‘They were really a trading people’ he goes on to say of the Phoenicians). So we are reduced to provisioning in the poems being in the hands of outsiders. But actually the outsiders do not supply provisions (at least if we take provisions to mean necessities). The one point at which the acquisition of provisions is mentioned in the *Iliad* is when ships arrive from Lemnos in *Iliad* 7, sent by Euneus son of Jason and Hypsipyle. The reason we know little about the provisioning of the Greek world is surely that provisioning is not at issue in either poem.

The shape of *The World of Odysseus* is not finally determined by Homer’s text, let alone by archaeology – for all that, as we have seen, Finley continually moves between ‘real’ and

⁴⁶ Finley 1954: 69.

textual worlds. It is, as van Wees has seen, determined by the models that Finley brings to his reading. Van Wees notes that the Finley/Adkins view of 'the main form of social organisation in Homer as a household (*oikos*)' has been challenged by scholars such as Murray, Qviller, Donlan and Carlier who 'discern rather smaller households, and wider social networks. Some of them also play down the importance of birth as a criterion of rank, even to the point of denying that there is an aristocracy in Homer'. He then observes:

Given that all this is based on readings of the same two poems, the variation, as I said, is remarkable. But it is easily explained. The authors of these four reconstructions have studied the epics with four different models of society in mind ... Finley was influenced by another evolutionary model: a combination of the classical Greek notion that independent households are the original form of human association, and the theory of Karl Bücher (1893) that at an early stage of economic development, one finds a closed household-economy.⁴⁷

Van Wees's analysis of Finley's treatment of the household shows that those who view *The World of Odysseus* as bringing the insights of the social sciences and of anthropology to Classics are not entirely mistaken. For all that Finley drew no attention to the social science models that he used (and by 1977 had removed all mention of Marcel Mauss), it is indeed by applying a model to the Homeric poems that Finley creates his coherent world. And yet in other ways *The World of Odysseus* had its impact because it showed Finley to be a classicist. It was certainly this book that established him as a scholar able and willing to write for a general public (though some features of the book show him showing off to other scholars, rather than writing for the ignorant: take the only mention of Plutarch; having had occasion to mention the sceptre of Agamemnon, Finley adds in a parenthesis '(it finally came to rest as a sacred relic in Plutarch's native city of Chaeronea)').⁴⁸ It is tempting to wonder whether the greatest influence of *The World of Odysseus* was not its impact on Finley's own career.

⁴⁷ Van Wees 1992: 27.

⁴⁸ Finley 1954: 119.

But *The World of Odysseus* had an impact on Finley also in a rather different way. Once Finley had thought about and arrived at a view on a question he was disinclined to think further about that question. As his revisiting of *The World of Odysseus* itself in his Classical Association Presidential Lecture in 1974 shows, he was unwilling to reopen questions that he regarded himself as having settled. His account of the economy of the world of Odysseus underlies his view of the economy of the ancient world as a whole. So we meet him asserting (and what possible evidence could there be for this view?) that ‘The economy was such that the creation of new fortunes, and thereby of new nobles, was out of the question.’⁴⁹ Again that ‘in modern parlance, imports alone motivated trade, never exports. There was never a need to export as such, only the necessity of having the proper goods for the counter-gift when an import was unavoidable’ – a view that not only (mis)takes the gift economy that was part of the economy for the whole economy, but also ignores the role of the gift in creating, as well as in reciprocating, obligation.⁵⁰ So too we find denial that slave breeding was significant, where Finley claims that ‘There was little mating of slave with slave because there were so few males among them’ (itself an extraordinary view), and then goes on to claim that any son of a slave mother and free father would be free, even if a ‘second class’ citizen.⁵¹ He illustrates this from the lying tale in which Odysseus claims to be son of a wealthy Cretan and bought concubine who was given only ‘a dwelling and a few goods’ when the estate is divided on his father’s death. This would hardly seem to be good evidence that the bastard born of a slave mother was ‘part of the narrower circle within the *oikos* as a whole, free and without even the stigma of bastardy in our sense, let alone the mark of slavery’, but for Finley it established that case.

⁴⁹ Finley 1954: 49.

⁵⁰ Finley 1954: 65. Note Ulf 1990: 211–12 (with a footnote to Finley): ‘Die homerische Gesellschaft kann somit auch keine [gift-giving society] sein, wie man das manchmal geglaubt hat. Denn das soziale Leben wird eben nicht vom Austausch materieller Gaben bestimmt. Sozialer Status ist nicht primär / mittels der Verteilung materieller Güter erwerbbar und steigerbar.’

⁵¹ Finley 1954: 56.

Finley certainly had an impact on Homer, through the claim that there was a 'heroic code', and through drawing attention to the structure of Homeric gift exchange. He had very little impact on the history of the Dark Age, because no one believed his claims. He had very little influence on methodology, because his own methodology was never explicit, and was deeply flawed. But *The World of Odysseus* made Finley himself. Many of his fundamental views are embedded in this book for the first time. This book, and the acclaim it achieved, encouraged Finley on the route that led to *The Ancient Economy*, and as a result the course of Greek economic and social history would have been very different without it. In that sense the impact of *The World of Odysseus* is firmly tied up with the impact of Finley's subsequent work.

CHAPTER 5

FINLEY'S SLAVERY

KOSTAS VLASSOPOULOS

A proper assessment of the impact of Finley's studies on slavery would require three different elements: the historiography of the studies on ancient slavery that predate Finley's first intervention in the debate with his 1959 article; an analysis of Finley's studies and his debates with his contemporaries; and finally, a study of the impact of Finley's work on slavery on the scholarship that has appeared since his death in 1986. This is a Herculean task, which is impossible to accomplish in the limited space of this chapter. A major complication is that we are not dealing with a single book, as other chapters in this volume, but with a range of books and articles spread over the whole period of Finley's career, from 1959¹ to the posthumous publication of the volume he edited for *Slavery and Abolition* in 1987.²

A second major problem is the lack of a historiography of ancient slavery before and after Finley's lifetime. This task is made even more difficult by Finley himself; far too many scholars have taken at face value his account of the historiography of slavery in the first chapter of *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*.³ Unfortunately, as Arnaldo Momigliano commented long ago,⁴ and as recent studies by Nafissi and Montoya have shown, Finley's account is deeply misleading and needs to be finally set aside.⁵ A third problem is created by the fact that Finley's approach still dominates the study of ancient slavery to an extent which is unparalleled in all other fields of his work.

¹ Finley 1959.

² Finley 1987.

³ Finley 1980b: 11–66.

⁴ Momigliano 1987: 4.

⁵ Nafissi 2005; Montoya 2015.

A mere comparison of two recently published collective volumes of great scope is illuminating: the *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* is definitely post-Finley,⁶ while the *Cambridge World History of Slavery* is equally definitely Finleyan in approach.⁷ This would mean that assessing his impact would require examining an immense volume of works; but it would also mean that assessing Finley's contribution is inseparable from evaluating contemporary approaches to the study of ancient slavery.⁸

Fortunately, there is a way out of this impasse. Finley's work on slavery was shaped by three discursive contexts which have dominated the historiography of ancient slavery long before Finley. Finley's contribution to these three discursive contexts consisted both of accepting their limits and terms, as well as reformulating the questions and answers that could be raised and given within them. Both Finley's achievements as well as the multiple and deep contradictions of his slave studies are the result of the interaction between these different discursive contexts. Finally, these three discursive contexts still provide the dominant contexts within which the study of ancient slavery is pursued. By examining the work of Finley within these three discursive contexts, one can combine in a certain way the pre-Finley historiography, Finley's contribution and an assessment of its impact in contemporary scholarship.

Finley himself was deeply aware of these discursive contexts, as it already appears in his earliest publication on the topic:

There are two extraneous factors imposed by modern society [on the study of slavery]. The first is the confusion of the historical study with moral judgments about slavery. We condemn slavery, and we are embarrassed for the Greeks, whom we admire so much; therefore, we tend either to underestimate its role in their life, or we ignore it altogether, hoping that somehow it will quietly go away. The second factor is more political, and it goes back at least to 1848, when the Communist Manifesto declared that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles ...' Ever since, ancient slavery has been a

⁶ Scheidel et al. 2007.

⁷ Bradley and Cartledge 2011.

⁸ Vlassopoulos forthcoming.

battleground between Marxists and non-Marxists, a political issue rather than a historical phenomenon.⁹

The three discursive contexts within which the modern study of ancient slavery has been conducted can be called, for lack of better terms, the modernist, the humanitarian and the Marxist. The first debate has its origins in the Enlightenment. It is a debate which is associated with famous names like those of Adam Smith and David Hume and others whose names are nowadays only known to specialists.¹⁰ At the centre of this debate was the new kind of society that contemporaries saw as emerging in Western Europe. This society was not based on the established hierarchies of the *ancien régime*, but on international commerce and free labour; it was totally different from ancient societies, based on warfare, agriculture and slavery. The distinction between a modern world based on free labour and an ancient world based on slavery is thus the legacy of an Enlightenment debate which aimed to vindicate modern society.¹¹

These Enlightenment debates continued during the nineteenth century and reached their climax towards the century's end, when the publication of Karl Bücher's *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* in 1893 created a spate of publications and a very audible debate.¹² On the one hand were those who argued that ancient societies were based on slavery. These scholars, who included Marxists as well as thinkers of various other persuasions, argued that the whole period of antiquity was characterised by dependence on the slave mode of production; that the emergence and decline of ancient societies was due to slavery; and that the social, political and cultural phenomena of the ancient world were deeply shaped by slavery. To give two examples among many, the economic and technological stagnation of the ancient world was due to the impediment of slavery, and the decline of the Roman Empire was the result of the falling profitability of slavery, or of the

⁹ Finley 1959 = 1981: 111.

¹⁰ Deissler 2000.

¹¹ Schneider 1988.

¹² See the texts collected in Finley 1979e.

collapse of the slave supply. On the other hand were scholars of equally varied persuasions, the most famous among which was Eduard Meyer, who argued that slavery was only one among a number of labour forms of ancient societies; that the importance of slavery had varied between different ancient societies and different periods; that the economic history of antiquity was not a linear stage in the evolution of societies from primitivism to capitalism, since ancient societies exhibited many similarities with modern capitalist societies; and that slavery was not the dominant economic factor which explained the economic, social and political development of antiquity.¹³

The humanitarian debate was the result of the potential clash between the universal condemnation of slavery as a result of abolitionism and the equally widespread admiration of classical civilisations, where slavery was a ubiquitous feature. Once it was widely accepted that slavery was something wrong, the question emerged of how to square admiration of the Classics with condemnation of slavery.¹⁴ Some scholars posited that there was a progressive enlightenment in antiquity which led to the humanisation of slavery, while others argued that ancient slavery was a far more humane relationship than the racial slavery of modern times; their opponents denied the validity of these claims and stressed the continuity of slavery in its most cruel and oppressive forms during the whole course of antiquity. The founding of the Mainz research programme by Joseph Vogt in 1951 provided in many ways a focal point for those who wanted to pursue the agenda of exploring the humanitarian aspects of ancient slavery.

Finally, the Marxist debate revolves around the question of class and class struggle. What are the best conceptual tools to analyse the various groups of slaves and their masters? Were slaves a class or not? What role did slave resistance play in the history of ancient societies? How did the slaves influence the historical development of the ancient world? When modern

¹³ Nafissi 2005: 57–123.

¹⁴ duBois 2003.

scholars debate these questions they are continuing a debate with the Communist Manifesto and its authors.¹⁵

The significance of these debates in the study of ancient slavery between the 1930s and the 1950s, which predates Finley's intervention, is well reflected in a collection of articles edited by Finley in 1960 under the title *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies*.¹⁶ The modernist debate on the role of slaves in production is represented by the articles of Jones¹⁷ and Westermann,¹⁸ which circumscribed the importance of slavery in agriculture and stressed its significance in manufacture; the humanitarian debate is presented in articles by Vlastos on slavery in Plato's *Republic*¹⁹ and Schlaifer's discussion of Greek theories of slavery,²⁰ while the presence of Vogt's chapter on humanity in ancient slavery²¹ belies Finley's subsequent vitriolic response to this perspective, as we shall see; finally, the 'Marxist' debate on the nature of slaves and the role of slavery in the historical development of antiquity is represented by Bloch's famous article on the end of ancient slavery²² and Westermann's discussion of the variability of the statuses among ancient slaves.²³

But the best window to both the continuous impact of these debates on Finley's work and Finley's novel contributions is a comparison with Westermann's *Slave Systems*, published posthumously in 1955 immediately before Finley's entry into the field.²⁴ Westermann largely reflects the consensus established by Meyer and his followers in the context of our three debates. Ancient civilisation was not based on slave labour, as slavery co-existed with other labour relations; there was a progressive amelioration of slavery, although Christianity had nothing to do with it; and given the great differences among

¹⁵ Ste. Croix 1981; Garlan 1988: 201–8.

¹⁶ Finley 1960a.

¹⁷ Jones 1956.

¹⁸ Westermann 1941.

¹⁹ Vlastos 1941.

²⁰ Schlaifer 1936.

²¹ Vogt 1958.

²² Bloch 1947.

²³ Westermann 1943.

²⁴ Westermann 1955.

slaves, they hardly constituted a class or shaped Ancient History through their class struggles. Westermann's study is rich in facts and poor in theoretical discussion and conceptual sophistication, one of the landmark features of Finley's contribution; but many of Finley's major arguments, such as the spectrum of slave statuses and the end of ancient slavery as a result of changes in the position of the free, are already present in Westermann's account. On the other hand a key feature of Westermann's book will be completely lost in Finley's oeuvre, as we shall see: this is the attempt to present slavery as a dynamic historical process which differed significantly in space and time, rather than Finley's static millennium of the ancient slave society.

Rethinking the Role of Slavery: the Concept of Slave Society

Finley's first article of 1959 ('Was Greek Civilisation Based on Slave Labour?') was a direct intervention in the modernist context, and it is best to start our discussion from that context. Finley did not provide a historiographical account of the debates to which he was responding in 1959,²⁵ and when he did so in 1980, his account was deeply misleading. As a result, scholars have generally failed to realise the extent to which Finley's answer was conceding an immense proportion of the ground to scholars like Meyer and Westermann and their arguments. Finley's major point appears towards the end of the article:

The most fruitful approach, I suggest, is to think in terms ... of function, as the social anthropologists use that concept. The question ... is not whether slavery was the basic element, or whether it caused this or that, but how it functioned.²⁶

Instead of answering the question that he posed in the title of his article, Finley presented a plea to change the nature of the question that ancient historians should be asking. By refusing

²⁵ Characteristically, Finley never cites [Zimmern 1909](#), whose title is identical to that of [Finley 1959](#).

²⁶ [Finley 1959](#) = [1981](#): 112.

to answer whether slavery was the basic economic element of ancient societies, or whether slavery had caused technological or economic stagnation, Finley was tacitly conceding the main points that modernists like Meyer had long been arguing. Nevertheless, Finley was adamant that slavery had played a very important economic role in antiquity and most of his article was devoted to documenting this position. But this important economic role could only be grasped if historians changed the question that they asked. Finley's new research agenda on this issue becomes clearer in his 1968 contribution to the *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*:

Slavery attained its greatest functional significance, and usually the greatest numerical strength, in societies in which other, less total varieties of bondage had either disappeared or had never existed. The distinction is particularly sharp as between *genuine* slave societies – classical Greece (except Sparta) and Rome, the American South and the Caribbean – on the one hand, and *slave-owning* societies as found in the Ancient Near East (including Egypt), India or China, on the other hand.²⁷

Instead of the slave mode of production, Finley proposed a distinction between two different categories of societies where slavery was present. Slavery had been present from the deepest past in countless societies, which should be characterised as slave-owning societies (or societies with slaves, as the term became widely known). But there were only very few societies in world history where slavery was not merely one relationship among many, but 'attained its greatest functional and numerical significance'. Finley provided a very concise explanation of what he meant by that:

Slaves were fundamental to the ancient economy in what I have been calling, for lack of a more precise label, the 'classical period', Greek and Roman. They were fundamental both in their employment (where they worked) and in the social structure (the reliance placed on them and their labour by the highest strata, the ruling classes).²⁸

Slave societies differed from societies with slaves because in the former slaves were employed in production, and in

²⁷ Finley 1968d: 308.

²⁸ Finley 1973b: 79.

particular in agriculture and the crafts, rather than merely as servants and concubines, and because slavery provided the main source of revenue extraction for the ruling classes. Slave societies emerged when slavery substituted other forms of dependent labour, such as debt slavery or serfdom, as the main means of revenue and labour extraction for the ruling elite.

Finley's concept of the slave society solved a number of significant problems that had been pointed out by his modernist predecessors. The distinction between slave societies and societies with slaves allowed Finley to take into account the modernist objection that slavery did not play the same role in all ancient societies; it also allowed him to avoid describing the whole of antiquity as dominated by the slave mode of production. While societies with slaves were ubiquitous in Greco-Roman antiquity, it was only the classical periods of Greece and Rome that saw the emergence of slave societies. Furthermore, the concept of slave society allowed Finley to counter the modernist objection that the majority of producers in ancient societies were not slaves but freemen. What mattered were not numbers as such, or the population as a whole, but only the use of labour in the large landholdings of the elite, which could not be cultivated solely through the labour of the owner and his family: great landowners covered their labour needs through the use of slave labour. According to this new formulation, in classical Greece and Rome the elite did not primarily exploit the free independent producers, since they had become unavailable for exploitation as dependent labour through political means and wage labour played a minimal role; instead, they primarily exploited slaves. Finally, the concept of slave society allowed Finley to provide a periodisation of the development of Ancient History. Archaic Greece and Rome were societies with slaves, where the main means of labour extraction were other forms of dependent labour primarily through debt bondage. But in a series of political revolutions, which Finley analysed primarily through his interpretation of Solonian Athens, the lower classes abolished debt bondage and gained citizenship and were thus no longer available for exploitation by the

elite.²⁹ Accordingly, the elites turned to slavery, and thus came the emergence of slave societies in Greece and Rome. During the Roman Empire the growing deterioration in the position of the free lower classes through legislation and taxation made them again available for exploitation by the elite, and this led to the gradual demise of ancient slave societies and the return to societies with slaves.³⁰

Finley's conception of slave society seems capable of taking into account all modernist objections, while retaining slavery's centrality in the economic history of antiquity. But from the point of view of the modernist context, Finley's conception conceded the most important issue at hand. In Finley's conception slavery has no explanatory role as an economic factor: it is merely a solution to the problem of labour and revenue extraction for the elite. Finley's image of the 'Ancient Economy' was based on two factors: the rentier mentality of the ruling elite and the consumer role of ancient cities.³¹ Both factors pre- and postdated the emergence and decline of slave societies and their structural dominance in the 'Ancient Economy' was thus independent of slavery. Both factors also applied to areas where slavery never became the main means of labour extraction: Roman Asia Minor or Gaul had both elites with rentier mentalities and consumer cities, although they did not use slaves as the main means of labour and revenue. Accordingly, slavery was merely an answer to a labour problem and had no role as an independent economic factor in Ancient History. Furthermore, slavery played no role in either the emergence or the decline of the ancient world. The emergence of slave societies was the by-product of struggles among the free, and the decline of slave societies was equally the result of a changing configuration between the state and the elites on the one hand, and the free lower classes on the other. It is I think not accidental that Finley never admitted in so many words how much he had conceded to those he considered as his

²⁹ Finley 1964b, 1965b.

³⁰ Finley 1965b = 1981: 162–6, 1980b: 123–49.

³¹ Finley 1973b.

modernist opponents; nor is it accidental that only Marxists could see clearly that Finley had abandoned slavery as an economic explanation in Ancient History.³²

The absence of slavery as an economic explanation in Finley's approach contrasts, though, rather sharply with his assessment of its social, political and cultural significance: 'There is no problem or practice in any branch of Greek life which was not affected, in some fashion, by the fact that many people in that society ... were (or had been or might be) slaves.'³³ In order to understand this contradiction, we need to explore the role of slavery in the two other discursive contexts, to which we can now turn.

Rethinking Slaves and Class: the Spectrum of Statuses

Finley's contribution to the modernist context entailed abandoning the problematic identification of antiquity as a whole with the slave mode of production in favour of a distinction between slave societies and societies with slaves. In the same way, his contribution to the Marxist context consisted in abandoning the unitary conception of slaves in favour of a novel conceptualisation. In various articles in the 1960s Finley explored a variety of groups of ancient slaves in order to show that the traditional Marxist approach that conceived all of them as a single class was misguided.³⁴ There were very significant differences between Athenian chattel slaves, Spartan helots, Cretan slaves,³⁵ slaves in *paramone*³⁶ and debt bondsmen,³⁷ and these differences had very important historical consequences: chattel slaves did not revolt and chattel slavery was never abolished, while debt bondage was abolished in Archaic Athens and Rome, and helots revolted and were even liberated.³⁸ Furthermore, even among chattel slaves there

³² Ste. Croix 1981: 462–3.

³³ Finley 1959 = 1981: 113.

³⁴ Finley 1960b, 1964b, 1965b.

³⁵ Finley 1960b = 1981: 135–9.

³⁶ Finley 1960b = 1981: 139–46.

³⁷ Finley 1965b.

³⁸ Finley 1964b = 1981: 118–19.

were very significant differences: the slave miners in Laureion and the slave banker Pasion, or the imperial slaves in the Roman Empire, exhibited very significant differences among themselves.³⁹ Finley's proposal was to abandon the Marxist concept of class as well as the rigid classification between free-men, slaves and serfs.⁴⁰ Instead, he proposed that the various groups of free and dependent people should be located within a spectrum of statuses that ranged from absolute freedom to absolute slavery.⁴¹ Locating slaves and other dependent groups within the spectrum of statuses was the desideratum of a new research agenda:

My argument is that status in ancient Greece can be analysed effectively only by borrowing an approach which has been developed in contemporary jurisprudence particularly in the analysis of property. This involves first breaking up the traditional notion of rights into a number of concepts, including claims, privileges, immunities, powers, and their opposites. Second it involves envisaging status (or freedom) as a bundle of privileges, powers and so on, and therefore the definition of any particular status, or of any individual's status, in terms of the possession and location of the individual's elements on the bundle.⁴²

Finley proposed a range of privileges and powers that could be explored in order to locate different groups within the spectrum of statuses and explain their different position and history: claims to property; power over human labour and movement; power to punish; judicial privileges and liabilities; privileges in the area of family; privileges of social mobility; and sacral, political and military privileges.⁴³

Finley's proposal was undoubtedly a step in the right direction. Given the enormous diversity among dependent groups in general and among chattel slaves in particular, historical research would need to discover concepts and research agendas that would enable scholars to make distinctions and explain them. But at this point we encounter a significant problem in Finley's work. This research agenda on the spectrum of

³⁹ Finley 1964b = 1981: 119–27.

⁴⁰ Finley 1980b: 70–7.

⁴¹ Finley 1960b = 1981: 146–9.

⁴² Finley 1960b = 1981: 148.

⁴³ Finley 1964b = 1981: 131.

statuses is completely abandoned by Finley in the rest of his publications after 1965. This is a tacit decision which was never explained, and we need to look for an explanation. One element of this explanation is that the way Finley chose to pose the problem made it inherently difficult to pursue his research agenda. Given the limitations of the evidence, it was very difficult to explore the differences between Spartan helots and Gortynian slaves as regards privileges of social mobility, or the differences among Greek chattel slaves as regards claims to property. Even more problematic, though, was that Finley's spectrum of statuses was descriptive and not explanatory.⁴⁴ The spectrum of statuses does not possess any internal dynamic that can explain how different positions are created, enhanced or diminished. This was the great advantage posed by the Marxist concept of class, and which Finley himself was forced to use when he needed to move from description to historical explanation.⁴⁵

But probably more important was the contradiction between Finley's research agenda on the spectrum of statuses and his periodisation of the development of ancient slavery. In what can only be described as a schizophrenic article, Finley moves from explaining why a simple distinction between slave and free is insufficient for the complex societies of Athens, Sparta and Rome, into the following argument:

In classical Athens and Rome, on the other hand, the traditional dividing line, the traditional distinction according to whether a man is or is not the property of another, remains a convenient rule of thumb for most purposes. For them the metaphor of continuum breaks down ... I might close with a highly schematic model of the history of ancient society. It moved from a society in which status ran along a continuum towards one in which statuses were bunched at two ends, the slave and the free – a movement which was most nearly completed in the societies which most attract our attention for obvious reasons. And then, under the Roman Empire, the movement was reversed; ancient society gradually returned to a continuum of statuses and was transformed into what we call the medieval world.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ste. Croix 1981: 91–6.

⁴⁵ Finley 1983: 1–11.

⁴⁶ Finley 1964b = 1981: 132.

Finley had presented the spectrum of statuses as an approach of universal applicability, given the range of rights and privileges and the diverse ways in which they were distributed among various groups; he was now arguing that the spectrum of statuses only applies to the Near East and to the societies with slaves which appeared in Archaic Greece and Rome and again from late antiquity onwards; for Classical Greece and Rome the simple distinction between slave and free becomes now a convenient rule of thumb. The corollary of this amazing statement is that the research strategy delineated by Finley in the very same article is inapplicable to Classical Greece and Rome.

Is it possible to explain this schizophrenic contradiction? It stems, I think, from Finley's need to account for something he accepted as a unique discovery of Greek civilisation in contradistinction with the ancient Near East: that is, the emergence of freedom and democracy. Already in his 1959 article Finley had presented the paradoxical claim that 'one aspect of Greek history is the advance, hand in hand, of freedom *and* slavery'.⁴⁷ In order for freedom and democracy to emerge, it was essential to create a clear dividing line between freeman and citizen on the one hand, and slave and outsider on the other. This clear dividing line brings us to the third discursive context of ancient slavery.

Rethinking Slavery and Humanity: the Unilateral Approach

Finley's intervention in this context makes a very late appearance in the form of a vitriolic attack on Joseph Vogt, the Mainz School and the 'humanitarian' approach to ancient slavery in *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*.⁴⁸ Given that the Mainz School was initiated in 1951 and that Finley either had been positive towards some of Vogt's publications or had abstained from engaging into polemics for almost twenty years, it is

⁴⁷ Finley 1959 = 1981: 115.

⁴⁸ Finley 1980b; first announced in Finley 1979d.

something of a mystery why he suddenly decided to launch a full-scale attack. Perhaps the explanation lies in the publication in 1974 of an English translation of Vogt's essays, which brought the debate to the Anglo-Saxon audience.⁴⁹ Whatever the case might be, Finley's argument, expressed in great detail in the third chapter entitled 'Slavery and Humanity',⁵⁰ can be shown to be latent in his work on slavery from his earliest publication in 1959.

Already in 1959 Finley wanted to counter the tendency among ancient historians to mitigate the stigma of ancient slavery through a variety of strategies: by claiming that ancient slavery was not racial and thus more humane than modern slavery; by discovering humanity in a variety of situations and relationships in ancient slavery, such as the relationship between nannies and their free masters, or in the image of the faithful slave; and finally, by claiming that there was a progressive amelioration of ancient slavery due to the influence of Stoic or Christian ideas, or through imperial legislation. In order to counter these approaches, Finley provided a definition of slavery that stressed three components in particular: the slave's property status, the totality of the power over him and his kinlessness.⁵¹ This top-down definition of slavery was supplemented by a stress on the unilateral character of the relationship between masters and slaves: 'The failure of any individual slaveowner to exercise all his rights over his slave-property was always a unilateral act on his part, never binding, always revocable.'⁵²

It cannot be doubted that, compared to the arguments of the 'humanitarian' scholars, Finley's approach, which stressed the structural role of exploitation and brutality, the unilaterality of the masters' power and the lack of any progressive amelioration of ancient slavery, was clearly more convincing. The problem was rather that this was not the only way to frame the problem and that approaching slavery in this top-down and unilateral

⁴⁹ Vogt 1974; see Deissler 2010.

⁵⁰ Finley 1980b: 93–122.

⁵¹ Finley 1980b: 77.

⁵² Finley 1980b: 74.

way created as many problems as it solved. To start with, there are significant contradictions between Finley's definition of slavery and arguments that he presents in different discursive contexts. Finley's definition stresses the kinlessness and outsider status of ancient slaves; it is thus interesting to note how in his discussion of the decline of ancient slavery Finley argues against theories which explain it through problems in the slave trade by emphasising the important role of slave reproduction in maintaining Roman slavery.⁵³ But surely if slave reproduction played an important role, then the definition of slaves as quintessentially kinless and outsiders requires modification at the very least. This is a good example of how Finley can argue two contradictory propositions, because they serve different purposes in different contexts, probably without even realising the existence of the contradiction. It is equally telling that Finley is adamantly opposed to the attempt by anthropologists of slavery to use ethnographic data in order to re-examine the role of property and unilaterality in defining slavery.⁵⁴ Given Finley's earlier disavowal of a simplistic sociology which only distinguished between free labour, slavery and serfdom and his espousal of a spectrum of statuses approach, his categorical negation of any attempt to expand the definition of slavery is surely further evidence of latent contradictions.

But the most severe result of Finley's unilateral definition of slavery concerns his failure to perceive the implications of the historiographical revolution that was changing the shape of the study of New World slaveries during the 1970s. Two pioneering works in this respect were Blassingame's *Slave Community*⁵⁵ and Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll*.⁵⁶ These works aimed to recover slave agency and perceive slaves not merely as passive objects of exploitation, but as active historical agents. This meant a reconceptualisation of slavery as a dynamic negotiation of power that involved both masters and slaves, although in an asymmetric way, rather than a top-down

⁵³ Finley 1980b: 128–30.

⁵⁴ Finley 1980b: 69–70.

⁵⁵ Blassingame 1972.

⁵⁶ Genovese 1974.

approach in which slavery was unilaterally defined by the masters; it also meant moving beyond the exclusive focus on the relationship between masters and slaves and examining how slaves had created their own slave community by forging relationships with other slaves beyond and below their masters.

Finley was aware of these works, and he was keen to engage with the comparative study of slavery, as shown by his participation in the editorial board of the cross-disciplinary journal *Slavery and Abolition*, and his edition of a special issue on ancient slavery that appeared posthumously as *Classical Slavery*.⁵⁷ But his unwillingness to rethink his own definition of slavery in the light of these works is clearly shown by the context in which he cites them. Blassingame and Genovese only get a reference in the discussion of the image of the faithful slave: this is obviously as far as Finley was willing to go.⁵⁸

Finley's Periodisation and its Contradictions

We need finally to turn our attention to the set of contradictions and problems created by Finley's periodisation of ancient slavery. A first problem concerns his interpretation of the Solonian crisis as evidence for the overthrow of a labour regime based on debt bondage, its substitution by slavery as the main means of labour extraction and the emergence of the first slave society. Finley's interpretation can only be based on a structural argument. The lower classes were forced to provide labour through debt bondage because of structural problems, such as their insufficient land plots, the frequency of crop failure and illness etc. The legislative abolition of debt bondage would not eradicate per se any of these structural problems (although it might have diminished share-cropping obligations, if this is the way to interpret hectemorage). Peasants would still need to find some means of countering crop failure or insufficient plots; how could they do so, now that they could not borrow through debt bondage or work for the rich? The result should

⁵⁷ Finley 1987.

⁵⁸ Finley 1980b: 104–5.

soon have been a large mass of landless and desperate proletarians. Accordingly, there should still have been a very large pool of available labour, even after the Solonian reforms, and there seems no reason why the elite should have turned to the mass importation of slaves.

The only solution that could have made Finley's argument workable is the assumption that a form of land redistribution had now enabled the peasants to make a living solely on the basis of their own plots, and therefore made them unavailable to the elite. But if there is anything we know for certain about the Solonian reforms, this is the fact that no redistribution of land ever took place. Accordingly, on purely logical grounds Finley's interpretation of the Solonian crisis is untenable. There are further problems, which are not worth raising in this context: in what way, for example, could an Athenian development stand as the model of similar development in countless other Greek poleis, where we have no evidence of a similar abolition of debt bondage? The Solonian reforms cannot bear the weight of illustrating Finley's transition to a slave society.

The second problem concerns the contradiction between Finley's periodisation of slavery and his perception of a static 'Ancient Economy' which remained essentially the same for the 1,500 years between Homer and Justinian. While Finley portrayed Meyer's essay on the development of ancient slavery as 'as close to nonsense as anything I can remember written by a historian of such eminence',⁵⁹ his own periodisation of ancient slavery is very similar to Meyer's. They both depend on the idea that chattel slavery came to substitute more archaic forms of dependent labour in the core areas of ancient Greece and Rome. Finley expressed this idea already in 1959: 'The slave proper was the decisive figure in the economically and politically advanced communities; whereas helotage and debt-bondage were to be found in the more archaic communities.'⁶⁰ The quote makes obvious the contradiction between Finley's static view of the 'Ancient Economy' and the distinction

⁵⁹ Finley 1980b: 48.

⁶⁰ Finley 1959 = 1981: 99.

between economically advanced and backward communities that his periodisation of ancient slavery requires. This contradiction becomes even more apparent in Finley's explicit recognition in *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* that one of the three preconditions for the emergence of slave societies is a sufficient development of commodity production and markets: 'Hypothetically, helots and other forms of dependent labour can be employed in non-commodity producing societies, but not slaves, who must be imported regularly, in quantity, and therefore paid for.'⁶¹ But the development of commodity production and the markets is a factor which does not play any role in Finley's structural account of the 'Ancient Economy'. By linking the emergence of slave societies to the development of commodity production and markets, Finley opened the door to a dynamic account of ancient economic history, as was of course the intention of Meyer.⁶² But his portrayal of slavery as merely a problem of labour substitution rather than as an independent economic factor, and his acceptance of a static 'Ancient Economy', forestalled such a development and tacitly submerged an obvious contradiction.

A third problem concerns Finley's understanding of the millennium of slave societies between the late Archaic period and the changes of late antiquity. Finley had abandoned a static depiction of the whole of antiquity dominated by the slave mode of production in favour of a more dynamic account which included the emergence and fall of slave societies. One might have expected that he would have attempted to identify and analyse changes and developments within the millennium of ancient slave societies; but no such account is to be found in any of Finley's works. The structure of *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* is characteristic in this respect: a chapter on the emergence of slave societies is followed by a chapter devoted to the structural issue of slavery and humanity, finding little change in the course of antiquity, and finally a chapter devoted to the decline of ancient slavery. This gives

⁶¹ Finley 1980b: 86.

⁶² For recent work on these lines, see Harper 2011: 67–200.

the obvious impression that between emergence and decline nothing significant ever changed, and this is an impression which still permeates modern scholarship on ancient slavery.⁶³ The explanation seems to be the result of the constraints of the humanitarian context. In order to counter the ‘humanitarians’, Finley had to adopt a static definition of slavery that emphasised its top-down and unilateral features. Given that slave agency as a factor of change was discounted by both sides, any indication of change could only have come from the initiative of the masters, and had to be discounted, if the ‘humanitarian’ agenda were to be rejected. Finley’s selection of the static account of slavery and humanity as the subject of his middle chapter, instead of the development of ancient slave societies, was thus not an accidental choice, but a decision forced on him by the terms of the humanitarian discursive context.

A final problem concerns Finley’s portrayal of forms of dependent labour apart from slavery. Time and again Finley appears to assume that dependent forms of labour had remained essentially unchanged in the course of antiquity, in the same way that chattel slavery had remained unchanged in the millennium of ancient slave societies. His refusal to incorporate in his analysis areas like Egypt or Asia Minor, where other forms of dependent labour were always more important than slavery, is evidence of his general view that nothing ever really changed in such Oriental societies. While Finley was adamant that chattel slavery was only dominant in the core of Classical Greece and Rome, while other forms of dependent labour predominated in the other areas of the Hellenistic and Roman empires, he was never interested in exploring the interactions that would have resulted from the co-existence of different labour regimes within a single empire. It seems to be another example where the pressure of conflicting discursive contexts led to the tacit submersion of contradictions and the abandonment of important research avenues.

⁶³ This is the impression given by Bradley and Cartledge 2011.

Assessing Finley's Legacy and its Contradictions

Let us start with Finley's major contribution to the modernist context, the distinction between societies with slaves and slave societies. I have already shown how the concept of slave society was an ingenious way of retaining the centrality of slavery in antiquity, while tacitly conceding all the major points presented by the modernists in the first half of the twentieth century. But is this a concept that is still proving useful for the study of ancient slavery?⁶⁴ Doubts begin to emerge when one observes how contemporary scholars are currently using the concept in terms that clearly strain or even undermine Finley's definition of it. This is evident in cases like that of Keith Bradley, who, after defining a slave society in economic terms and arguing that it only existed in Roman Italy between 200 BC and 200 AD, goes on to argue:

The attitudes and habits of mind evident when the slave economy of Roman Italy was at its height long antedated and long outlasted that economy's chronological and territorial limits ... To the extent that owning slaves always served to express *potestas* in a society highly sensitive to gradations of status, esteem and authority, Rome was always a slave society.⁶⁵

So Rome was a slave society socially before and after it was so economically: but this social definition of slave society undermines the distinction between societies with slaves and slave societies, which is precisely based on the economic role of slaves. Instead of trying to redefine the concept of slave society in order to include social aspects alongside the economic, or abandon the term in search of new concepts, we are offered a manipulation of Finley's legacy which undermines its own supposed utility.

The first problem with the concept of slave society is that it fails to distinguish between different modes of exploitation by focusing merely on the source of labour and revenue extraction for the elite. But there is an immense difference between, for example, the slave miners of Laureion or a slave plantation,

⁶⁴ Compare, for example, the comments of [Harper 2011: 37](#) and [Dal Lago and Katsari 2008b](#).

⁶⁵ [Bradley 1994: 30](#).

where the master controls and organises the labour process, and slaves who work and live independently and merely bring revenue to their masters. These different modes of exploitation and their interaction created very different forms of slavery and slaves and very different economic processes. We need concepts that will allow us to employ such differences and distinctions within our analysis; the concept of slave society cannot allow us to do so, given its limited focus on revenue extraction.

The second problem concerns the distinction between slave societies and societies with slaves. It seems to be assumed that slave societies draw a clear boundary between slavery and freedom, employ slaves in all economic functions, and tend to treat slaves more harshly than societies with slaves. But these assumptions are unwarranted; the more widespread the range of slave employment, the more difficult it will be to maintain the distinction between slave and free. The employment of slaves as bankers, managers, bureaucrats and independent producers made the distinction between slave and free difficult in many ways; only by restricting slavery to particular sectors, such as agricultural labour, would it be possible to maintain a clear distinction between slave and free, and this is precisely what happened in the American South, but not in other slave societies, such as Brazil or the Caribbean islands.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the employment, for example, of slaves as bureaucrats brings the Roman slave society closer to the Ottoman society with slaves rather than the slave societies of ancient Greece and the US South.⁶⁷

Finally, the concept of slave society assumes an automatic connection between the economic role of slavery and its social, political and cultural importance. But as the confused argument of Bradley indicates, there is no such necessary connection, and we need to posit such a connection, rather than assume it. I would argue therefore that the concept of slave society should be finally dropped from the conceptual toolbox of ancient historians, in favour of recognising the plurality of

⁶⁶ Bergad 2007.

⁶⁷ See Lewis 2011.

slaving strategies that co-exist within any society and of examining the interconnections between these different strategies with concrete historical analysis.⁶⁸

Let us move to the concept of the spectrum of statuses. Finley was undoubtedly onto something important when he proposed a research agenda aiming to explore the diversity of slave and other dependent groups; but he tacitly abandoned this agenda, and I have tried to explain the reasons for this. We need therefore to distinguish between Finley's asking an illuminating question and his problematic conceptual tools for providing an answer. Finley's explanation of the differences between Athenian chattel slaves and Spartan helots is that they represented different status groups with different typological features. But as recent work on the helots has shown, the explanation is not typological difference, but the different processes that affected various groups of slaves.⁶⁹ The reason helots often revolted is not their position on the spectrum of statuses, but their shaping by processes of master residence and control, economic employment and community formation: take chattel slaves and put them in large concentrations in the countryside, and revolt will be a constant feature, as we can see in Chios or Corcyra; take helot-type slaves and put them under the direct supervision of their masters, as in Crete, and revolt will be unheard of. We need to move beyond Finley's typological approach and explore the diversity of slave groups that he correctly pinpointed through a study of interconnected processes.

Equally important is the need to supersede the limits set up for research by the terms of the humanitarian debate. Historians working on New World slavery have long abandoned the unilateral and top-down approach that denies to slavery any agency. This is because slavery has always been much more than what the standard definitions suggest. We have seen above how Finley's focus on the kinlessness and outsider status of slaves was contradicted by his stress on the role

⁶⁸ Vlassopoulos forthcoming.

⁶⁹ Hodkinson 2008; Luraghi 2009.

of slave reproduction when discussing the decline of Roman slavery. Being kinless and an outsider is rightly considered an essential aspect of slavery, but equally essential was the constant strive of slaves to create families and bonds of kinship. We need therefore to recognise that slavery was a negotiation that involved both masters and slaves, although in clearly asymmetric ways. Equally important is the need to break from the exclusive focus on the relationship between masters and slaves and examine other relationships that affected slavery: relationships among the slaves and the creation of slave communities, relationships between slaves and non-slaveholders, relationships among freemen and the intervention of the community in the theoretically unmediated relationship between masters and slaves, etc. Finley's unwillingness to engage with the historiographic revolution that changed approaches to New World slavery was perhaps understandable, given that by the 1970s he was approaching the end of his career. It is rather more unfortunate that in the quarter century since his death ancient historians have continued following his problematic approach, instead of engaging in a dialogue with the developments taking place in the field of New World slavery.⁷⁰

Finally, it will be important to rethink Finley's periodisation of ancient slavery, which still largely dominates the field.⁷¹ I have tried to show above that Finley's periodisation has both conceptual and substantive problems and in fact contradicts many other aspects of his own work. But that also means that challenging the assumptions of the three discursive contexts we have been exploring opens also the way for rethinking the periodisation of ancient slavery. The major desideratum here concerns the millennium of slave societies that is currently situated between their emergence and decline. Scholars working on New World slavery have convincingly recovered the historicity of New World slavery by showing the significant changes that characterised it in the three centuries of its existence.⁷² By

⁷⁰ But see [Dal Lago and Katsari 2008a](#).

⁷¹ [Andreau and Descat 2006](#); [Bradley and Cartledge 2011](#).

⁷² [Berlin 1980, 1998](#).

conceiving slavery as a dynamic negotiation of power rather than as a static unilateral exercise of total power it is possible to start creating an account that will link ancient slavery with all the other significant changes that emerged in the course of Ancient History.⁷³

To sum up: if Finley's legacy is his call for methodological self-reflexivity, for the study of the historiography of scholarship and for asking big questions that matter, then it has to be maintained and, in fact, revived.⁷⁴ But if his legacy is the substantive and conceptual answers he provided within the three discursive paradigms that we have explored, then it is a legacy we need finally to lay to rest in search of a new paradigm.

⁷³ Vlassopoulos 2011.

⁷⁴ McKeown 2007.

CHAPTER 6

FINLEY AND SICILY

JONATHAN R. W. PRAG

There is a double oddity in Finley's *Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest* (1968): on the one hand, it stands alone in Sicilian scholarship, there being no single-volume history of ancient Sicily in the last century that even begins to rival it; while on the other, it stands no less alone within Finley's own *oeuvre*, both as a regionally focussed, grand narrative and in being, *prima facie*, less successful than his other books. In what follows I shall attempt to shed some light on both those aspects, through a tripartite approach: firstly, examining what can be discovered about when, why and how Finley came to write the book; secondly, considering its historiographical context; and thirdly, examining its impact.

Creation

In the preface to the first Italian edition, composed in July 1970 (the English first edition has none, only acknowledgements), Finley wrote that 'It is now more than 10 years since my friend and colleague, Denis Mack Smith, suggested that I collaborate with him in writing a comprehensive history of Sicily.'¹ The original impetus for this work did not come from Finley at all, but from the great historian of modern Italy, Denis Mack Smith, and therein lies the basic explanation for its oddity as a Finleyan undertaking. Mack Smith, a fellow at Peterhouse, Cambridge until 1962, when he moved to Oxford and All Souls College, had already published books on Cavour and Garibaldi, as well as a hugely successful *Modern*

¹ Finley 1970: 9.

Italy: A Political History, all of which were rapidly translated into Italian and reprinted many times.² As far as Denis Mack Smith can recall (he is now in his nineties), on the back of this success he was commissioned by the London-based publishers Chatto & Windus to write a history of Sicily – although precisely when is past recovery. Mack Smith was concerned that he was not able to treat ancient Sicily adequately. He discussed the problem with Finley – he and his wife Catharine had become good friends with Moses and Mary, following Finley's arrival in Cambridge (Finley subsequently became godfather to one of their daughters) – and Finley offered to take it on.

The question arises, however, as to why the project appealed to Chatto & Windus in the first place: Mack Smith's success in Italian history explains the choice of individual, but not the subject, except that he had already gathered plenty of material on Sicily during his work on Italy. No less relevant must be the rising place of Sicily in popular culture in Britain and elsewhere from the mid-1950s onwards.³ Two figures will suffice by way of example: Gavin Maxwell, most famous for *Ring of Bright Water*, published two books on Sicily during the later 1950s, *God Protect Me from my Friends* (on the notorious Sicilian bandit Salvatore Giuliano) and *The Ten Pains of Death*;⁴ while from 1956 onwards the curious figure of Danilo Dolci, the 'Gandhi of Sicily', came to ever-growing prominence. In addition to his own extensive publications, especially *Inchiesta a Palermo*, translated into English as *To Feed the Hungry* (with an introduction by Aldous Huxley), two English-language biographies of him were published in the mid-1960s alone.⁵ Sicilian literature, too, was coming to wider attention: that classic of modern Sicilian literature, *Il Gattopardo*, by Giuseppe

² Mack Smith 1954, 1956 and 1959a; Italian editions 1958, 1959b, 1959c, respectively.

³ I owe this point to Christopher Duggan, former pupil of Mack Smith, and himself a historian of modern Italy.

⁴ Maxwell 1960, 1956 and 1959, respectively; on the figure of Giuliano, besides the popular reception, note, for example, Hobsbawm 1959, chapter 2 (on social banditry, with Giuliano as the most recent and notorious example of 'Robin Hoodism'); indeed much of Hobsbawm's study is concerned with Sicily.

⁵ Dolci 1956, 1959; MacNeish 1965 (for example, on 242 for Dolci's impact in the UK); Mangione 1968.

Tomasi di Lampedusa, was published in 1958, translated into English already in 1960, and made into a Palme d'Or-winning film by Luchino Visconti, starring Burt Lancaster and Claudia Cardinale, in 1963; the works of Leonardo Sciascia were coming to prominence in the same period; and the Sicilian poet Salvatore Quasimodo won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1959.⁶ Against this backdrop, 1960 saw the publication in simultaneous English, French, German and Italian editions of a substantial coffee-table history of Sicily, essentially a vehicle for a series of sumptuous photographs by Leonard von Matt, with text by the Italian historian Luigi Pareti.⁷ In other words, Chatto & Windus were riding a wave.

In the summer of 1959, Finley, his wife and the recently divorced wife of Geoffrey de Ste. Croix made a trip to Sicily, the justification for which was Finley's research.⁸ Recalling it in a letter of 1966 to Mack Smith, Finley wrote, 'In 1959 we drove through the spine of Calabria on the way to Sicily, having turned east from the coast at Paestum. It was marvellous.'⁹ In Sicily itself they stayed at Taormina, Siracusa, Gela (as a base for Enna and Piazza Armerina), Agrigento, Selinunte, Castellamare di Golfo and Palermo – he passed on details of the hotels in which they stayed to another correspondent in November 1960, together with a warm recommendation of Piero Orlandini, then director of Gela museum.¹⁰ I can find no evidence for any other trips to Sicily, although Finley did attend the Taranto conference of October 1967 and met some of the Sicilians again there.¹¹ That he was, seemingly, not invited to any of the quinquennial Palermo conferences on ancient Sicily (unlike, for example, Frank Walbank in 1968) most likely reflects the problems of reception to which I shall turn in the third section. Alongside a letter from Peter Green of 1959, which indicates that the two had previously discussed Green's

⁶ Compare the survey in *Guercio* 1968: 11–17 (itself reaching a third edition).

⁷ von Matt 1960; cf. Pareti 1959, noted further below.

⁸ My thanks to Dan Tompkins for this.

⁹ Finley to Mack Smith, 30 October 1966 (File A35, Finley Papers, Cambridge University Library).

¹⁰ Letter to 'Robin', 27 November 1960 (File A36).

¹¹ Cf. *Finley* 1968c, and a letter to Dino Adamesteanu of 13 November 1967 recalling their meeting (File A36).

forthcoming article on the First Slave War, the Sicilian trip and the statement of 1970 that the original suggestion was ‘more than 10 years ago’ are as far back as I can trace Finley’s interest.¹² The implication is therefore that Chatto & Windus probably approached Mack Smith in 1958.

It may come as a surprise, in light of the actual publication, that what was envisaged *c.* 1960 was a single, co-authored volume (to be written sequentially). A first stab at this can be found in the New York magazine *Horizon: A Magazine of the Arts*, for which Finley and Mack Smith co-wrote (in sequential parts) a richly illustrated summary history under the title ‘Sicily’, published in September 1961.¹³ The piece is naturally much shorter and clearly written for a popular audience, as evidenced by the description of the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Agrigento: ‘worse still, to provide added support the architect placed between the columns gigantic figures of Atlas, 25 feet high, so barbarous in conception and execution that it is hard to imagine them as Greek at all’. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note how many of the distinctive phrases from the finished work appear already in this piece (the contrast with a post-publication piece of 1971 for the *Sunday Times Magazine*, on the Agrigentine temples, is striking – the latter is rather different in tone, and seemingly written from scratch, loosely mapping on to material covered in a single paragraph in the book itself).¹⁴ Most obviously, two paragraphs into the *Horizon* article, one finds what became the much-quoted opening sentence of *Ancient Sicily*: ‘Sicily is an island, and few islands have had an important independent role in history.’ A letter of October 1961 from Chatto & Windus returns a copy of the article to Finley, with the comment ‘This is an absolutely admirable article. We admired and enjoyed it very much. It was very nice seeing you both.’¹⁵ Doubtless, the article

¹² Green 1961; letter from Green to Finley, 28 December 1959 (File A36).

¹³ Finley and Mack Smith 1961. Correspondence with J. H. Plumb of Christ’s College, Cambridge, relating to the commissioning of this piece, is preserved in File A36. Finley contributed to *Horizon* on other occasions also.

¹⁴ Finley 1971d; cf. Finley 1968a: 34–5.

¹⁵ Letter from Chatto & Windus to Finley, 3 October 1961 (File A36).

played a role in discussions of the projected form and content of the book. The concluding section of the article by Mack Smith gives some indication of both his own and wider contemporary concerns, being an eloquent threnody on modern Sicily, the mass emigration of the 1950s, the poverty and the burden of the island's past.

It is hard directly to discern activity on the volume (on Finley's part) in the ensuing years. A contract was signed in December 1961 between the Italian publisher Mondadori and Chatto & Windus for 'an Italian language edition of *A History of Sicily* by Denis Mack Smith and M. I. Finley', and in June 1963 Finley received an advance of £312, 18s, 9d for the Italian edition.¹⁶ In the same year, Finley was lecturing on 'Sicily 415–289 BC' (the master copy of the handout is preserved, dated Michaelmas Term 1963), and this material clearly underpins much of the middle third of the final work.¹⁷ Among the materials that are preserved in the University Library are a series of small blue Cambridge University examination booklets, each dedicated to a different ancient author and containing very detailed notes on Diodorus, Cicero's *Verrines*, Thucydides and the other key ancient texts for Sicily, as well as extensive notes on much of the contemporary Italian and German scholarship; a further three such blue booklets are dedicated to the bibliography of respectively prehistoric, Greek and Roman/Byzantine Sicily. It is clear that some quite considerable research went into the volume during this period (for his part, Mack Smith at one point observed to Finley that if a full bibliography were to be provided for his own contribution, it would run to some 1500 items).¹⁸ It is to 1963 that one can also pin Finley's interest in the much-disputed episode of Plato's Sicilian visits and letters. Exchanges with Gilbert Ryle and Myles Burnyeat in 1963 (the latter begins with a request for a reference, following

¹⁶ A rider to the original contract for the Italian edition, dated to May 1967, is preserved in a copy of a revised contract of 13 June 1967 with Chatto & Windus, and this in turn references the original contract date of 11 December 1961; a note of the advance royalty is dated 10 June 1963 (both in File E18).

¹⁷ Alongside the handout, there are also extensive notes for these lectures (File A36).

¹⁸ Notes, and the letter of Mack Smith to Finley, 13 July 1966, in File A35.

up from something he noted in Finley's class on the topic) discuss the highly problematic Letters 7 and 8 at some length.¹⁹ Finley's first views were worked out in a BBC Radio talk that he gave on the Third Programme in late 1964, the first of a pair on Plato, published subsequently in *The Listener* as 'Plato in Sicily'. That piece in turn provoked a lengthy letter from the philosopher Willard Hutchin (New York) in January 1965 and further discussion. The 'Plato in Sicily' piece was in turn reprinted as the first half of the 'Plato and Practical Politics' paper in *Aspects of Antiquity*.²⁰ Echoes of language and similarities of view are clear between the radio piece and chapter 7 of *Ancient Sicily* ('Plato, Dion and Dionysius II'), but the latter develops the political and historical context much more fully, and while no less critical of the letters is more cautious and judicious in both presentation and judgement. Despite the highly critical tone of most of Finley's discussion, both pieces remain ultimately agnostic on the authorship of the letters, while at the same time seeming almost self-contradictory in concluding by treating the letters as essentially Platonic. There is no explicit cross-reference between the two texts, even though the *Aspects of Antiquity* version was published in the same year as *Ancient Sicily*, with the same publisher.

The process of writing for *Ancient Sicily* seems to have got underway seriously in 1966 – although Mack Smith was clearly well ahead of Finley by this point, sending him a manuscript for reading over the course of the summer, at which point Finley sent 'a cockshy at the first three sections in the same form as yours', while promising in July 1966 that 'I shall have a MS complete for you on your return [October 1966] or eat it (or my hat or something)'.²¹ Hat must have been on the menu that autumn. It is in the course of this year that the two debated at some length between themselves, and with Chatto

¹⁹ Letters between Ryle and Finley, November/December 1963; Burnyeat to Finley 17 May 1963, Finley to Burnyeat 27 May 1963 (all File A36).

²⁰ Finley 1964f = Finley 1968b: 73–80; letters of Hutchin to Finley, 15 January 1965, 20 August 1965 (File A36).

²¹ Correspondence of 1966–8 between Finley and Mack Smith quoted in this paragraph is all in File A35.

& Windus, the merits of dividing the work into two volumes, as well as broader issues of structure (chapters versus sections and parts, Mack Smith's model of alternating narrative with socio-economic analysis, and the decision to do without footnotes). In October 1966, Finley wrote to Mack Smith that 'I must say that I am attracted to the idea [of two volumes] not least because it means that production and translation could start on yours as soon as you are ready. Try as I may, I simply do not seem to be able to move rapidly enough, and anything that would avoid holding you up any longer would be a tremendous relief to me.' In November of the same year, Mack Smith, noting *inter alia* that John Julius Norwich's first volume on the Normans in Sicily would now beat them out, forced Chatto & Windus to a decision, which was for two volumes.²² This entailed some rewriting by Mack Smith, not least a division of the work of introduction, since Finley had originally drafted a global introduction for the whole;²³ Mack Smith's own new introduction was already finished in December 1966. It is at this point that Finley argued for the longer title of *Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest* for his own volume (which was in turn dropped, against his wishes, from the second English edition of 1979;²⁴ it survives in some of the translations, although not in the Italian edition). The fact that Mack Smith's volume expanded in turn into two, Medieval and Modern, in the course of 1967, is clear from a rider to the Italian contract of May 1967 (above, n. 16), which notes 'now to be published in 3 volumes'. It is hard not to think that the whole project had rather gotten away from Chatto & Windus by this stage. In a letter to Finley of February 1968, Mack Smith commented, 'Only libraries, or the very rich and careless, or the italianisimi, will go for the whole set.' Mack Smith continued to be ahead of Finley, and his two volumes were published in late

²² Cf. Norwich 1967.

²³ This is not preserved, but note the joint opinions presented in the first paragraph of the preface of the Italian edition, Finley 1970: 9, contrasted by the opening of the second paragraph, 'Il mio libro ...'.

²⁴ Letter of Finley to Chatto & Windus, 23 June 1978 suggests use of the longer title for second edition (File E18).

spring of 1968, while Finley's manuscript finally made it to Chatto & Windus on 7 February 1968.

The winter of 1967/8 had seen a flurry of letters to Sicily seeking images and permissions, and detailed comments on some or all of the draft manuscript from the same period are preserved from a dozen colleagues, together with fifteen pages of dense typescript containing Mack Smith's comments on Finley's manuscript.²⁵ In a letter to the French excavator of the important Greek colonial site of Megara Hyblaea, Georges Vallet, in December of 1967 (Vallet was providing him with a new map of the agora of Megara), Finley wrote, 'The wretched book is gradually coming to an end. That will be a relief not only to me but also the growing number of friends whom I annoy because of it.'²⁶ The allusion, in the preface to the second edition of 1979 (and already in the Italian preface of 1970), to publication constituting a *seisachtheia* for his wife becomes increasingly comprehensible.

Some ten days after Finley had sent in the final manuscript, the French scholar Denis Roussel sent him the entire manuscript of his own forthcoming book *La Sicile entre les Romains et les Carthaginois à l'époque de la première guerre punique*. Finley must have been immensely relieved to find little that affected his own account. Roussel's elegant letter seeking Finley's comments on his manuscript included the observation: 'French people are said to be very good talkers but very bad listeners – and I believe it is very true. Last Easter, in Paris, I admired immensely the way you could do both at the same time.'²⁷

Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest was finally published on 10 October 1968.

²⁵ Correspondence in File A36; comments are preserved in File A35 from: 'Doug' (New College, Oxford); Peter Brunt (Oriel College, Oxford); John Crook (St John's College, Cambridge); Keith Hopkins (LSE); A. H. M. Jones (Cambridge, who concluded 'I think I prefer Hugo Jones – but I do not feel strongly'); Colin Kraay (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); David Lewis (Christ Church, Oxford); Simon Pembroke; Stuart Piggott (Edinburgh); Geoffrey de Ste. Croix (New College, Oxford); and J. Stevenson (Downing College, Cambridge).

²⁶ Finley to Vallet, 4 December 1967 (File A36).

²⁷ Cf. Roussel 1970; Roussel to Finley 22 February 1968 (this and further letters during 1968, in File A35); Finley managed to insert a reference to Roussel's forthcoming book in the bibliography (1968a: 206).

Historiography

But at the end of this decade-long struggle, what sort of history had Finley written? Modern precursors are few and even fewer are comparable. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw several attempts to write monumental histories of Sicily: Edward Freeman's unfinished four-volume history to the death of Agathocles in 289 BC (curiously never translated into Italian); Adolf Holm's three-volume *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum* to the end of the Roman period (almost immediately translated and still available); Ettore Pais's *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, to the start of the fifth century BC (his unrealised original intention was to cover the period down to the Punic Wars); and Biagio Pace's later and rather different, but no less important, four-volume *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*.²⁸ At the smaller scale, Freeman also wrote a one-volume history of Sicily to the end of the Roman period; and much closer in time, Luigi Pareti wrote a one-volume history of Sicily down to the Roman conquest, *La Sicilia antica*, a shorter English version of which appeared a year later in the coffee-table picture book of von Matt already noted.²⁹ While the first four are a rather different scale of enterprise (and predate the post-war archaeological 'revolution' in Sicily), neither of the latter two has ever held a serious place in post-war scholarship: Freeman's book wears its Aryanism on its sleeve, while Pareti's was heavily criticised and rapidly ignored (the Sicilian archaeologist Vincenzo Tusa wrote that it left a bitter taste in the mouth, difficult to read and dreadful in its attention to archaeology).³⁰

²⁸ Holm 1870–98 (Italian edition 1901–6); Freeman 1891–4; Pais 1894; Pace 1935–49 (and vol. 1 revised 1958). On Freeman, Momigliano 1984, Manni 1977: 24; on Holm, Pinzone 2000; on Pais, Salmeri 1992; on Pace, Arias 1987.

²⁹ Freeman 1892; Pareti 1959, cf. von Matt 1960.

³⁰ See, e.g., Freeman 1892: 291 on the European [i.e. Roman] conquest of Greek Sicily being preferable to Carthaginian, Roman rule as 'less unnatural' and the 'second Semitic occupation [i.e. the Arab conquest of the ninth century] something wholly unnatural'. V. Tusa on Pareti in the Sicilian daily *L'Ora*, 11 December 1970 (in a review of Finley's *Sicilia antica*).

Even more strikingly, there has been no serious attempt to compete with Finley since.³¹ The only meaningful large-scale work on ancient Sicily as a whole is the collaborative *Sicilia antica* of 1980 (two volumes in five fascicules), which constitutes the first two volumes of the ten-volume *Storia di Sicilia*, and which came out contemporaneously with the revised edition of Finley's *Ancient Sicily*. Since this was a multi-authored work, made up of small periodisations given out to individuals, with no obvious effort to encourage collaboration between the authors, and very heavily weighted in favour of the Phoenician and Greek periods, this lacks any sort of syncretical overview or coherent picture and is scarcely comparable – indeed, one of the contributors was already bemoaning this fact in print as it was going to press.³² Similar things might be said about the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which in both its first (1920s–1930s) and second (1980s–1990s) editions has substantial chapters scattered across the various volumes dedicated more or less specifically to Sicilian history between the period of Greek and Phoenician ‘colonisation’ and the reign of Agathocles; thereafter the coverage inevitably reduces to occasional pages within the flow of Roman history, fading out entirely by the High Empire.³³ Notably, Finley makes no mention of the *CAH* first edition in the bibliography to *Ancient Sicily*. The rich material on Greek Sicilian history in the *CAH* second edition may well be one reason for the longer-term lack of success of Finley's account in English, notwithstanding its Agathoclean terminus; on the Roman side the same result may have been induced by Roger Wilson's monumental volume on the archaeology of Sicily under the Empire.³⁴ The absence of continuous accounts that continue past the Punic Wars and

³¹ Dreher 2008 is the only work I know of that comes close, but, despite its elegance, at approximately half the length (110 pages) and in pocket format, it is not truly comparable.

³² Manganaro 1979: 5 (‘l'occasione perduta per ... una linea storiografia unitaria e nuova ...’); Gabba and Vallet 1980.

³³ Note in particular chapters by Hackforth, Ferguson, Bury, Cary and Frank in vols 4–7 in the first edition; and chapters by Graham, Asheri, Andrewes, Lewis, Westlake, Picard and Meister in vols 3.3–7.1 in the second edition.

³⁴ Wilson 1990; for Greek Sicily down to Hieron II of Syracuse, in Italian, there is now also Braccesi and Millino 2000.

into the Roman period is a recurring problem, reflecting both the diminution in the available literary sources, and a general view, enunciated already in Adolf Holm's monumental history, that a province of the Roman Empire lacks a history of its own.³⁵

But Finley's volume was also part of a trilogy in its original publication, and there is no comparable modern history of Sicily from prehistory to the twentieth century. This makes the question of what sort of interpretation of Sicilian history the two men offered even more interesting. The main thread is presented in the introduction to Mack Smith's first volume, which opens with the now famous and oft-quoted speech of Prince Fabrizio from Lampedusa's *The Leopard*, 'For over 25 centuries we've been bearing the weight of superb and heterogeneous civilisations, all from outside, none made by ourselves, none that we could call our own ... for 2500 years we've been a colony ... we're worn out and exhausted.'³⁶ Mack Smith follows in precisely this vein, noting endless conquests, a resulting 'fusion or confusion of cultures' and a steady impoverishment of the island; all culminating in the rise of the mafia, and the truly grim situation of mass emigration and corruption in the 1950s, although regional autonomy post-war and the discovery of oil provided Mack Smith with some grounds for optimism in his conclusion. In the question of 'who were the Sicilians', the nature of the underlying society is seen as a challenge, 'often hard to know', and he explicitly cites Freeman in his view that 'anything like a Sicilian nation never had much chance of existence'.³⁷ For Mack Smith, the Sicilians are 'as interesting and important as the foreign conquerors who provided most of the drama in the foreground of Sicilian history' – even if not every reviewer was convinced he had uncovered them successfully.³⁸

³⁵ Holm 1870–1898: III, 67, 'Seit dem Falle von Syrakus und Agrigent war die Bedeutung Siliens bei weitem nicht mehr die alte. Eine römische Provinz hat nur in sehr beschränktem Umfange eine gesonderte Geschichte.'

³⁶ Tomasi di Lampedusa 1960: 205.

³⁷ Mack Smith 1968a: xv.

³⁸ See the anonymous, front-page review in *TLS* for 23 February 1969, no. 3494 (in fact by the modern historian John Roberts, of Merton College, Oxford).

Although it may not be immediately obvious on a first reading, there is in fact a significant divergence in play between the stories offered by Mack Smith and Finley (the former, of course, completed his final manuscript before ever he saw much of Finley's). Finley himself picked up on the difference, in a letter to Mack Smith of December 1966, when they were making the modifications necessary to split the work into two volumes: 'There is, however, one curious difficulty [he writes, regarding Mack Smith's revised introduction], and that is created by the Greeks. If you start the whole story of outside alien invaders with them, you are left with the obviously intolerable position that the pre-Greek Sicels etc. are the only true Sicilians. I think we must treat the Greeks apart, not as colonialists but as genuine Sicilians (they were there long enough), and I suggest you avoid them as much as possible in this Introduction ...'. Finley proceeds to urge upon him various minor corrections such as 'The Greek period', in place of 'the period of Greek occupation'; Mack Smith obliged, although noting that he was 'not so bothered about whether the Greeks were or were not conquerors or residents. Of course they were both ...'.³⁹

This Hellenocentric position of Finley's is mostly implicit in his account: fewer than five hundred years of Greek Sicily occupy ninety-four pages, while prehistory gets twelve ('he moves on one suspects with relief', wrote one reviewer) and the remaining 1,100 years down to the Arab conquest get eighty (reflecting the general imbalance in accounts of Sicilian history, but nevertheless something which many reviewers regretted).⁴⁰ His lack of interest in the pre-Greek Sicilians combines with his scepticism regarding the sources on these, culminating in the statement that the account in Thucydides' archaeology is 'approximately worthless'.⁴¹ In the second chapter, entitled 'The Coming of the Greeks', the Sikels, Sikans, Elymians

³⁹ Finley to Mack Smith 7 December 1966; Mack Smith to Finley 9 December 1966 (File A35).

⁴⁰ Relief: review by John Julius Norwich, *The Sunday Times*, 13 October 1968; brevity of the post-Greek account noted *inter alios* by John Boardman in *CR* 20 (1970) 57-8 and J. A. S. Evans in *CW* 62.6 (1969) 226.

⁴¹ Finley 1968a: 9; Finley's critical reading of the ancient sources in general met with considerable enthusiasm among his reviewers (see the next section below).

and Phoenicians get a mere two pages at the chapter end. The Phoenicians were the subject of slight revision in the second edition, but with the original claim of ‘Phoenician disinterest’ in the island subtly re-emphasised in the process, and the treatment of western Phoenicians in Sicily remains one of the more obvious weaknesses in his account (in fairness, the revolution in Italian Punic studies, spearheaded by Sabatino Moscati, only began as Finley was writing).⁴² In the fifth chapter, the revolt of Ducetius gets a remarkably minimal treatment, perhaps precisely because of an awareness that references to ‘a powerful “national” movement’, a “liberation” movement’ and ‘Sicel national consciousness’ sit awkwardly with the broader interpretation.⁴³ The clearest indication of the view set out in Finley’s letter to Mack Smith is perhaps to be found on the second page of his opening chapter (‘The Beginnings’), where he writes, ‘From the end of the third century BC, when the Romans reduced the whole of the island to a province, foreign domination was the rule.’⁴⁴ This is picked up in the concluding part of [chapter 10](#), ‘The First Roman Province’, with the statement that ‘Rome and Italy, it must not be forgotten, were a foreign nation to Sicilians. Language was the obvious test. All Sicilians now spoke Greek as their mother tongue, whatever their origins in the distant past.’⁴⁵

The struggle between Greek and Latin on the island, and the appropriate emphasis that should be placed upon each, and the relationship of the ancient languages to the evolution of the Sicilian dialect, and in turn the relevance for this of Roman, Byzantine, Norman and Lombard domination, is itself a major crux in modern Sicilian historiography.⁴⁶ For

⁴² Compare [Finley 1968a](#): 24–5 with [1979b](#): 24–5; on Phoenician studies, see conveniently [Vella 1996](#), and now [Quinn and Vella 2014](#).

⁴³ [Finley 1968a](#): 63–4.

⁴⁴ [Finley 1968a](#): 4; compare the deliberate omission in the preface to the Italian edition of 1970 (not to be found in either English edition), ‘I cartaginesi, i romani e gli arabi furono tutti *invitati* a intervenire in Sicilia, ed altri lo sono stati in seguito’ (1970: 9).

⁴⁵ [Finley 1968a](#): 134; cf. [Diod. Sic. 5.6.5](#).

⁴⁶ See e.g. [Mazzarino 1977](#): 9–10; cf. [Prag 2002](#): 16–17; [Tribulato 2012](#) offers an excellent overview of recent linguistic study of ancient Sicily, but with less focus on the historiographical longer view.

Finley, the survival of Greek is a repeated theme throughout the Roman section, and is in turn the basis for the concluding paragraph to the whole work, which argues that the Arab conquest marks the sharp division between ancient and medieval, precisely because it marks the end of 1,500 years of Syracusan dominance and the end of Greek's linguistic dominance.⁴⁷ As several reviewers noted, the Arab period in particular gets short shrift in both the Ancient and Medieval volumes, the emphasis passing very rapidly to the Latin/Norman era: for both men, the Arabs were readily agreed to be the significant moment of division. Even if the motivations are wholly different, this downplaying of both the Arabs and Phoenicians risks looking like a hangover from the very dominant nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historiographic tradition that saw its worst excesses, for Sicily, in the pro-Norman Edward Freeman. This Hellenocentric interpretation of Finley has one further, interesting airing in print. Finley did not present a paper at the 1967 Taranto conference, but he did make a couple of *interventi*, in which he argued that the 'Greek colonial world' was an abstraction, as were 'natives', and that combining the two produced an unhistorical third. Sicily, however, he argued was different from other regions in the so-called colonial world, based on the fact that the social structure of the natives was distinct (and Ducetius is here explicitly dismissed) – no less implicit here than in *Ancient Sicily* is an acceptance of Diodorus' view (5.6.5) that, in time, the island's inhabitants all became *Sikeliotai*.⁴⁸ As with his account of Ducetius, however, this global view is not without its internal contradictions: one of Finley's themes in *Ancient Sicily* was the failure of the city-state model in Sicily (by which he means its failure as a political unit, since he repeatedly asserts the socio-economic continuity of the island), but the only actual explanation he offers for this (as David Lewis complained in a review) is that '[The Sicilian Greeks'] behaviour was profoundly influenced and disturbed by the fact that they lived in an alien environment.' But then,

⁴⁷ Finley 1968a: 189.

⁴⁸ Finley 1968c: 187.

one feels obliged to respond, the Greeks were indeed invaders like all the rest.⁴⁹

At the very end of 1970, Arnaldo Momigliano wrote to Finley to commend him on the volume, which he had just read in its Italian translation, and to note that he would try to get a proper review for it in *Rivista Storica Italiana*; although, in the final resort, ‘another possibility is myself, not bad, if only I had the time’.⁵⁰ Seemingly nothing came of this, but a decade later Momigliano published a significant contribution to Sicilian historiography, as the final chapter in the first volume of the collaborative *Sicilia antica*, entitled ‘La riscoperta di Sicilia antica da T. Fazello a P. Orsi’.⁵¹ In retrospect, one wonders whether this was Momigliano’s eventual response to Finley, even if – or perhaps because – Finley is only mentioned in the antepenultimate sentence: ‘I leave aside more recent historiography, even if the interventions of scholars such as L. Pareti and S. Mazzarino, as well the reopening of all the problems on the part of M. I. Finley, could reaffirm above all that which might seem generally obvious to anyone who believes Sicilian autonomy to be an unavoidable fact that should carry weight in any future history of ancient Sicily’.⁵² The model offered by Mack Smith (and Lampedusa) is that which Momigliano saw as dominant ever since the work of the great renaissance historian of Sicily, Tommaso Fazello (*de rebus Siculis*, 1558), through to c.1800 and ‘which has not lost its attraction even today. Fazello’, he writes, ‘does not identify the Sicilian people with any of the peoples that occupied the island across the centuries. For him, the history of Sicily is one of invasions ...’.⁵³ This model dominated, in Momigliano’s reading, until the Enlightenment discovery of the Greek period of Sicilian history, when there was a move instead towards choosing one of the past peoples as heirs, and rejecting the simple continuity of the invasion model.

⁴⁹ Finley 1968a: 72; cf. D. Lewis, in *EHR* 24.1 (1971) 117–8.

⁵⁰ Momigliano to Finley, 30 December 1970 (File E19).

⁵¹ Momigliano 1980a (first presented and published in 1978 at Urbino; reprinted in his *Settimo contributo*...).

⁵² Momigliano 1980a: 777 (my transl.).

⁵³ Momigliano 1980a: 768.

As he also noted, Greeks and Normans were generally the preferred choices (as in Freeman), rather than the Romans, although notably in the post-Risorgimento period a strong tradition developed of emphasising primarily the claimed Sikel/Latin link and thus ultimately an Italic connection. Holm, Pais, Pace and Pareti, with variations, are all exponents of this latter line; and Holm (temporarily, as his third, Roman, volume came out much later), Pais and Pareti all halted their accounts at the Roman conquest. On such a reading the Punic Wars and the Roman incorporation of the island naturally take on particular significance.⁵⁴ Finley, it seems, went very much more down the post-Enlightenment Hellenic route – and in this light, the statement quoted above, that ‘Rome and Italy, it must not be forgotten, were a foreign nation to Sicilians’, reads like a polemic with the more recently dominant Sikel/Latin interpretation.⁵⁵ One cannot help wondering whether Momigliano’s observation, that one key problem for such models was the absence of a linguistic connection with the Greek past, has Finley in mind also – for Finley, this was no problem at all, since he finished his account with the end of ‘Greek’ Sicily in 878 AD; and, in turn, Finley’s Greek Sicilians could essentially be ignored by Mack Smith. Tellingly, Momigliano also observed that all such accounts are written by outsiders, whereas local Sicilian historians almost all maintained the Fazellian model (or else that of ultimate kinship with Italy).⁵⁶ The Fazellian line is rather starkly emphasised in an unusual five-page summary history of Sicily offered by the Palermo archaeologist Vincenzo Tusa in conversation with Danilo Dolci, published in English in *The Man Who Plays Alone* in the same year as Finley’s *Ancient Sicily*. In this version Sicily, after multiple earlier migrations, is occupied by and divided between Phoenicians and Greeks, prior to the Roman conquest, in a classically Fazellian sequence. Tusa concludes, ‘And so we see that the history of Sicily as a whole,

⁵⁴ Besides Momigliano 1980a, see esp. Mazzarino 1977; cf. Ceserani 2000.

⁵⁵ Guido Clemente commented that Finley’s was ‘una formulazione che sembra proprio ribaltare la linea storiografica rappresentata eminentemente dal Pace’ (1979: 24).

⁵⁶ Manni 1977 briefly compares accounts by outsiders with those by Italians/Sicilians.

and of Palermo in particular, is one long story of occupation, oppression, favouritism, patronage, and clientship.⁵⁷

Such brief comments on Finley's place in the existing Sicilian historiographic tradition may be partially balanced by a few observations on *Ancient Sicily's* place in Finley's own historiography. Chapter 11, 'The Great Slave Revolts', may be taken as a useful case study. Several familiar Finleyan lines emerge: on the one hand, a concern with the idea of variety in slave status, which, as one subsequent account noted, goes somewhat beyond the available evidence;⁵⁸ and on the other, a treatment both of the revolts within Greco-Roman slavery and of the economic interest of the revolts that is wholly in line with the rather static view of both slavery and the ancient economy that is familiar from Finley's other work.⁵⁹ The revolts are presented as aberrant, not just in antiquity but absolutely, and as a direct consequence of the massing over a short time of slaves of similar origin (rather than any significant changes in Sicily itself). Furthermore, the Sicilian revolts are merged in with the subsequent Italian revolt of Spartacus, and the two areas are treated as essentially identical, notwithstanding the fundamental differences between provincial Sicily and peninsula Italy both pre- and post-Social War. Both that collapsing of difference and Finley's principal explanation of timing and origins, as well as a strong emphasis upon the charismatic leadership of the revolts, are the only points to resurface elsewhere in Finley's writings, and even those only briefly; the revolts, because of this view of their highly aberrant nature, play remarkably little part in his other discussions of slavery.⁶⁰ Needless to say this stands in quite stark contrast

⁵⁷ Dolci 1968: 100–4.

⁵⁸ Compare Finley 1968a: 138–9 with, e.g., Finley 1999: 64 (and the paper by Vlassopoulos in this volume); the critique by Verbrughe 1972: 549 n. 21 has some truth, but is excessively polemical (as well as being a very rare example of a direct engagement in detail with Finley's account, for which the explanation probably lies in it being an anglophone account following hard on the heels of *Ancient Sicily's* initial publication).

⁵⁹ See Vlassopoulos in this volume for Finley's 'static millennium' of ancient slave society.

⁶⁰ For the revolts in *Ancient Slavery*, see Finley 1980b: 79 and 115: the former simply places Sicily along with Greece and Italy at the heart of 'ancient slave society'; the

to many other studies of the revolts.⁶¹ The static models of ancient slavery and economy which underpin this view in turn mean that the account of the revolts feels deeply unsatisfying in terms of its explanatory power, not only in terms of slavery, but also for Sicily itself; but this odd lack of explanatory power is to be found elsewhere in the history. As noted above, David Lewis complained about the lack of explanation offered for the much-emphasised failure of the *polis* in Sicily; the Ducetius episode is almost wholly lacking in attempts at explanation; and more broadly, Finley's view that ancient Sicily was fertile and successful (in implied contrast to its decline during modernity) results in a very unsatisfying picture of an island which simply rejuvenates after each setback.⁶²

The lack of impact of the detailed account of the slave revolts on the rest of Finley's work is emblematic of the lack of impact of *Ancient Sicily* more generally on Finley's work. It is tempting to speculate that his Sicilian researches prompted his choice of Timaeus (alongside Fabius Pictor) as the ancient author he would most like to recover.⁶³ But, more generally, Sicily appears infrequently, and as little more than the source of occasional anecdotal examples. While these do imply a greater awareness of Sicilian material than one might otherwise expect, for the most part the island is noted very briefly for the most banal of points (as source of grain or location of slave revolts); and the same examples are reused several times.⁶⁴

latter repeats very summarily the core views of the *Ancient Sicily* chapter, while going even further in treating the Sicilian revolts as emblematic of 'the general social and political crisis that had emerged in Roman society'. The account then moves directly on to his avowedly 'superficial "psychological"' evaluation of slaves, and the Sicilian material is forgotten.

⁶¹ For much of this analysis, see esp. *Campagna 2003*: 16–17, comparing Finley with much contemporary and subsequent Italian scholarship in particular, which tends to treat the slave wars as a 'laboratorio del modo di produzione schiavistico nella sua forma classica', and the development of slave agriculture in Sicily as a special case requiring specific explanation.

⁶² See e.g. Finley 1968a: 144 (recovery after 132 BC); 146 (recovery after 100 BC); 148 (recovery after Verres).

⁶³ *Finley 1975e*: 84.

⁶⁴ So, for example, in *The Ancient Economy*, Sicily is noted as one of the sources of grain for Rome (Finley 1999: 33, 160, 198); as the location of slave/plantation agriculture and revolts (1999: 32, 68, 156); and provides a source of specific illustrations (1999: 102, 112, 118–19, 172); some of the same examples recur, e.g., in *Ancient Slavery* (Finley 1980b: 134).

Sicily is in fact most visible in various of the papers reprinted in the contemporary *Aspects of Antiquity* volume, illustrating that, unsurprisingly, Sicilian material regularly made it into his more ‘popular’ writing of the 1960s.⁶⁵ *Ancient Sicily* itself is scarcely ever referenced by Finley elsewhere.⁶⁶

It is this regular presence of Sicily in the popular writing of the 1960s, more than anywhere else, that perhaps gives the key to understanding Finley’s view of his *Ancient Sicily* (beyond the *officium* to a good friend). John Boardman observed in his review that ‘What makes this more than a mere workmanlike summary of the evidence is the genuine attempt to see beyond the recorded events and to write history rather than another chronicle. It was no doubt for the chance to do this that Finley undertook the commission.’⁶⁷ Finley himself never explicitly offers a statement on this, although he wrote subsequently that ‘It will be apparent that I retain a rather old-fashioned notion of history as a systematic account over a long enough period of time not only to establish relationships, connections, causes and consequences but also to show how change occurs and to suggest why.’⁶⁸ Boardman was arguably close to the truth: *Ancient Sicily* is perhaps to be read alongside several polemical pieces written by Finley in the mid-1960s (i.e. precisely when he was researching *Ancient Sicily*) about the role of the professional ancient historian; these in turn saw more specific development in an article published in *Daedalus* for 1977, no less concerned with the role of the ‘professional ancient historian’.⁶⁹ Echoes of those writings can be found in the prefaces to the Italian edition of 1970 and the revised English edition of 1979: ‘The book was written in the first instance for the

⁶⁵ See, for example, the chapter ‘The Etruscans and Early Rome’ (and cf. Finley 1983: 53), or the use of evidence from the Sicilian slave revolts in ‘Aulus Kapreilius Timotheus, Slave Trader’ (1968b: 170).

⁶⁶ The only references I have found are in *Politics in the Ancient World*, for Timaeus on Syracuse and the Plato episode (Finley 1983: 103 and 126 n. 11), which are obviously in line with what has already been noted here.

⁶⁷ Boardman, *CR* 20 (1970) 57.

⁶⁸ Finley 1985a: 5–6 (this exact sentence does not appear in Finley 1977a, which underpins the chapter).

⁶⁹ See Finley 1964c (esp. 20–3), 1966b, and 1977a (esp. 129 and 140, with a reference back to the 1966 piece in n. 49); it is arguably surprising that he does not in fact cite his *Ancient Sicily* in the 1977 piece, given that he did cite other of his works, such as *The Ancient Greeks*.

educated general reader; it offers a personal analysis, for which I take professional responsibility, not a flat summary of received ideas or a succession of scholarly controversies, many unresolved and probably not capable of resolution.⁷⁰ Having been drawn in to writing a history of *Ancient Sicily*, Finley seems to have seized the opportunity to practise what he preached.

Impact

A full assessment of Finley's historical analysis in *Ancient Sicily* requires more space than is available here. There is, without question – as one might expect from a work of such sweep, by such a historian – much within Finley's account that deserves serious engagement; too often, however, that is not what it has received, and the nature of *Ancient Sicily's* reception warrants examination in its own right.

With the notable exception of a substantial front-cover, three-page review in *The Times Literary Supplement*, in February of 1969 (n. 38 above), very few reviews addressed the three-volume set as a whole. The two authors foresaw this problem in discussing potential journals for review; academic specialisation exacerbated the situation, as did the delayed publication of Finley's volume, coming out some months after the other two.⁷¹ *Ancient Sicily* was widely reviewed in the principal anglophone journals;⁷² it was also well covered in the popular

⁷⁰ Finley 1979b: xi; compare especially 1970: 9, 'L'utilità e l'intrinseco interesse di un'opera del genere erano, a nostro avviso, indiscutibili. Stabilimmo inoltre, concordemente, di rivolgerci soprattutto al pubblico dei lettori colti in generale, basandoci su un approfondito esame sia delle fonti originali sia dell'abbondante produzione moderna sull'argomento, esame che si riflette nelle dettagliate bibliografie critiche che si trovano in appendice ai nostri volumi. E stabilimmo anche di presentare non un freddo sommario di idee altrui, bensì una propria analisi personale, analisi della quale ci assumiamo la piena responsabilità nella nostra qualità di storici professionisti di lunga esperienza.' This was obviously written in part with the expected Italian academic response in mind, noted below.

⁷¹ Letter of Finley to Mack Smith, 31 January 1968, and undated reply (February 1968?) (File A35).

⁷² H. H. Scullard, *JRS* 59 (1969) 270; J. Boardman, *CR* 20 (1970) 57–8 (cf. *idem*, 30 (1980) 157); R. Drews and N. Nabers, *AJP* 91.4 (1970) 507–9; W. H. C. Frend, *EHR* 84.333 (1969) 818–19; R. Grew, *AHR* 75.2 (1969) 537–9; L. F. Janssen, *Mnemosyne* 25.1 (1972) 103–4; D. M. Lewis, *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 24.1 (1971) 117–18; S. I. Oost, *CPh*

press.⁷³ Few reviews had anything very substantial to say. Both David Lewis and Hugh Scullard thought it a trifle breathless in its pace, and they and others thought that something a little longer might have been attempted (one eminent scholar of ancient Sicily has noted, in conversation, that there was a sense of disappointment). The publishers cannot have appreciated the suggestion of greater length. Most reviews were relatively positive in tone, recognising the volume's format as limiting the scope, while praising Finley's explicitly cautious approach to the fragmentary sources. Several bemoaned the lack of footnotes and source references, and what had been a conscious decision in the first edition was explicitly reversed in the face of such complaint, in a limited way, in the second edition.⁷⁴ The work was generally commended as a fine introduction to the morass of Sicilian history. Aubrey Menen, writing in the *New York Times* (11 November 1968), described the Sicilians as 'the world's record losers', and a people 'who have given rise to the world's most unreadable historians, from Diodorus Siculus onwards'. At last, however, everything is okay: 'M. I. Finley begins the story, and he is a most refreshing man. He not only scrutinizes the sources, he kicks them in the teeth.'

The European reception looks rather different, and this, alongside the volume's publishing history, goes some way towards elucidating the long-term impact of *Ancient Sicily*, and indeed its relative lack of success. I know of only one French review, by Édouard Will: he noted that it was something different from Finley, 'un livre de vulgarisation (je ne sais si c'est dans cet esprit que l'entreprise a été conçue)', but he praised it

65.1 (1970) 66–7; cf. R. J. A. Talbert, *JHS* 101 (1981) 199–200 and O. Davies, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 35.131 (1980) 61 on the second edition.

⁷³ Cuttings of reviews are preserved in File E19 from: *The Sunday Times* (13 October 1968, John Julius Norwich), *The Times* (25 January 1969, Nathaniel Tarn), *The Observer* (28 October 1968, John Hale), *The Guardian* (1 November 1969, John Rosselli), *The New York Review of Books* (undated, R. C. Smail), *Saturday Review* (7 December 1968, Gabriel Gersh), *Boston Globe* (4 November 1968, Richard Pearce), *New Yorker* (14 June 1969, Winthrop Sargeant) and the *New York Times* (10 November 1968, Aubrey Menen).

⁷⁴ Mack Smith to Finley 13 July 1966: 'footnotes on any scale we can afford are for me an impossibility and much better left entirely out' (File A35); cf. *Finley 1979b*: xi, 'One change has been the introduction of source references. Although full account had been taken in the first edition of both the original sources and the vast modern scholarship ...'.

as an excellent introduction to the problems of Sicilian history, while regretting the lack of source references.⁷⁵ A French translation was not forthcoming until 1986, and when it was the translator, Jeannie Carlier, in discussion with Vidal-Naquet, wanted to add a site gazetteer for travellers; Finley thought it a good idea, but the funds could not be found. It went to a second edition in 1997, and is still available.⁷⁶ In German, there was little other than a lengthy summary in *Gnomon*, although there were notices in the popular press.⁷⁷ It was in fact a request from the German publisher C. H. Beck in 1977 for updating prior to the issue of a German translation that led Finley to make the revisions which in turn resulted in the English second edition.⁷⁸ Chatto & Windus, having previously discussed and rejected the idea of an abridgement in 1976, independently proposed a reprint in 1978, and it was Finley who then cajoled them into resetting the book, in order to incorporate his revisions for the German edition.⁷⁹ The German edition was reissued in 1993. By contrast, the English version has never been reprinted and never made it to paperback, although eventually in 1986 Chatto & Windus managed to get an abridged single-volume version of the original trilogy to press. This was undertaken by Christopher Duggan and constitutes a remarkable effort of compression (with additional material on post-war

⁷⁵ E. Will, *Rev. Hist.* 243.1 (1970) 167–9. In France, it competed against the Presses Universitaires de France survey *La Sicile* by Pierre Lévêque (1966), which went through multiple reprints and revisions up to a fourth in 1989 (sometimes under the variant title *Nous partons pour la Sicile*). The French edition of Finley (see below) has, however, outlived Lévêque's work.

⁷⁶ Finley 1986b; correspondence from June/July 1985 between Finley, Carlier and Vidal-Naquet (who read the translation) is preserved in File E18.

⁷⁷ H. Meier-Welcker, *Gnomon* 42.8 (1970) 783–90; various cuttings preserved in File E19; note, however, G. Radke, *Gymnasium* 87 (1980) 244–5, reviewing the German edition of 1979.

⁷⁸ German edition, Finley 1979c. Very extensive correspondence relating to the German edition, dating to 1977 and 1978, together with the notes for revision, are preserved in File E18. The German edition incorporated additional images, not always to Finley's satisfaction. The preface to be found in the English second edition was originally composed for the German edition (in turn reusing elements from the Italian preface of 1970). Many of the revisions (principally on Greek Sicily) were the work of Finley's former student Philip Lomas (then of King's College, Cambridge).

⁷⁹ Correspondence between Finley and Christopher MacLehose at Chatto & Windus between June and August 1978, relating to the English revised edition, in File E18.

Sicily).⁸⁰ This English version likewise never made it past its initial hardback issue. However, the German translation of the abridgement, by Kai Brodersen, went to a fourth edition in 2010, while the Italian translation by Giovanna Codignola has been through at least seven reissues. The original three-volume history, on the other hand, which one can find in many UK libraries, was never directly marketed in that form abroad.

It is the Italian reception that is most interesting, not least given the fact that the Italian translation was out within eighteen months of the English edition. As with the English edition, Mack Smith's volumes were out first, and they were clearly eagerly anticipated, based upon his existing reputation. Mack Smith wrote to Finley on 1 May 1970 (before Finley's own volume was published) to tell him that the first run (of 6,000) was already sold out, and the second run (of 2,000) nearly gone, and it was topping the Italian non-fiction list.⁸¹ By 1974, the Italian hardback run of Finley's volume had also sold out (the royalty figures preserved in Finley's papers give total Italian sales of 5,336 for *Sicilia antica* by 1975, against well over 10,000 for Mack Smith's volumes; by contrast, by 1978 and the production of the revised edition in English, UK sales for *Ancient Sicily* totalled only 2,719, with slightly fewer sold in the US, through Viking). The Italian edition has scarcely ever been out of print since; it has been out of print in the UK for some thirty years. But sales figures are only one side of the story.

Reviews of Mack Smith were lively. Giorgio Bocca, writing in the Milan-based daily *Il Giorno* in early 1970, under the heading 'continua la lezione storica di Denis Mack Smith', used it as the opportunity for a powerful critique of the Italian academic establishment, attacking the 'baroni universitari' who consider writing books for a wider audience beneath them, and 'who, being aristocratic and academic, keep us in the colonialist position of having to grasp the grand designs of our own history from foreigners, and from the English in particular'.⁸²

⁸⁰ Finley, Mack Smith and Duggan 1986 (published in the US also).

⁸¹ Mack Smith to Finley, 1 May 1970 (File E18).

⁸² G. Bocca, *Il Giorno*, 25 March 1970 (my translation); copy with accompanying letter sent by Mack Smith to Finley, 1 April 1970 (File E19).

The ‘baroni’ were roundly taken to task for choosing either to criticise or more commonly to pretend simply that the work in question did not exist. Finley seems to have been given the same treatment, albeit on a smaller scale. The only Italian review of note that I can find was in the Palermo daily, *L’Ora*, by Vincenzo Tusa; entirely positive, but unremarkable (the opportunity is taken, however, for an extensive demolition of the earlier Italian work by Pareti, above, n.30).⁸³ By contrast, Tusa wrote a five-page review of the Italian edition of *The Ancient Economy* in the principal Sicilian journal, *Kokalos*, which begins, ‘The name of Finley is quite well known, not only among historians of antiquity, but also, from a more local perspective, in Sicily and among various levels of society, for his *History of Ancient Sicily*.’⁸⁴ The history itself did not, however, warrant a review in *Kokalos*, notwithstanding the fact that the journal is devoted almost solely to Sicilian antiquity. The attitude becomes even clearer from two major surveys of recent Sicilian historiography written in 1972, by E. Lepore and G. Manganaro: both note the recent publication of Finley’s history at the outset, offer brief, but unremarkable comments, and then ignore its views entirely in the discussions that follow.⁸⁵ Indeed, serious integration of Finley’s account into Sicilian historiography is extremely rare: as noted above, Guido Clemente, on Roman Sicily, noted that Finley overturned Pace’s historiographic model; and Lorenzo Campagna, also discussing Roman Sicily, recognised the distinctiveness of Finley’s account of the slave wars; but these are almost unique.

The principal fate of Finley’s *Sicily* is to be cited as one of the standard narratives, typically in the fashion ‘for an account of events, see Finley’. Such treatment is arguably more common

⁸³ V. Tusa, *L’Ora*, 11 December 1970.

⁸⁴ V. Tusa, review of M. I. Finley, *L’Economia degli antichi e dei moderni* (Bari, Laterza, 1974), in *Kokalos* 20: 285–90 (my transl.).

⁸⁵ Lepore 1972–3: 122–3, noting Finley’s new ‘storia generale’, and that it had not aroused as much comment as Mack Smith’s volumes; Manganaro 1979: 5 says simply ‘vi si rilevano scoperti interessi per gli aspetti socio-economici e il tentativo di proiettare la storia della Sicilia in un quadro mediterraneo’; cf. Manganaro 1972: 442. Similarly, Édouard Will, having reviewed the book in 1970, ignores it in a subsequent survey article (‘Bulletin historique: histoire grecque’, in *Rev. Hist.* 251 (1974) 154–7).

in discussion of Roman Sicily, reflecting the absence of narrative accounts of Sicilian history beyond the Punic Wars, noted already. Even that practice, however, is more common in continental scholarship (perhaps for no other reason than that it remains in print in several European languages).⁸⁶ By contrast, recent work in English tends to omit it entirely.⁸⁷ The situation is even more extreme when one turns to specific topics. There are, as many of the original reviewers noted, plenty of stimulating and noteworthy sections and judgements in Finley's *Sicily*: not just the chapter on the slave wars, which as already noted stands apart from many other studies on the period, but also, for example, his forceful rejection of any sort of racial or ethnic motivation in the conflicts of the Greek period, and in particular of the standard 'myth' of the barbarous Carthaginians (Finley 1968a: 52–4); or his deeply negative judgement on Timoleon as no more than another tyrant (1968a: 97); his careful rejection of much of Jérôme Carcopino's excessive picture of Republican Sicily (1968a: 122–33); the continuity of Greek (already noted); and more. And yet, most subsequent studies of these topics either ignore Finley altogether or are very limited in their engagement with his historical judgements.⁸⁸

Ultimately, whether in the UK or in Italy, Finley on Sicily has become a victim of the label 'popular'. I find myself as guilty of this approach as any. *Ancient Sicily* was the first thing

⁸⁶ Purely *exempli gratia*, Dubouloz and Pittia 2009: nn. 14, 20, 27; Soraci 2011: 13 n. 29, 18 n. 40. The recent general work on Greek Sicily, Braccisi and Millino 2000, noted above, places Finley at the head of the bibliography.

⁸⁷ Only a single contributor in Smith and Serrati 2000 cites Finley (G. Shepherd), for narrative; otherwise, the sole reference comes in the concluding chapter on historiography, which merely quotes Finley's opening sentence for its final point (Ceserani 2000: 193). Another recent English historiographic survey (Prag 2009) omits Finley entirely. Finley is cited three times only in the various chapters on Sicily in the second edition of the *CAH*: in a bibliographic note (V², 882), for a narrative point (VI², 127 n. 33), and once with direct engagement on analysis (VII.1², 410 n. 28, Meister on Agathocles).

⁸⁸ Again, *exempli gratia*: on the slave wars, Bradley 1998 cites Finley repeatedly, but only for narrative of Sicilian history (152 n. 2; 168 n. 26) and the slave wars (155 n. 20, 158 n. 12), or for facts about Sicily at this date (156 n. 32, 157 n. 1, 159 n. 18), not for his interpretation of the wars; on the barbarous Carthaginians, Prag 2010 omits Finley entirely; on Timoleon, Talbert 1974 cites Finley repeatedly (46, 110, 118, 128, 164), but does not engage directly with Finley's negative judgement (and Finley is absent from the *CAH* chapter on Timoleon by Westlake).

I read when turning to the study of Sicily some fifteen years ago. But I had not reread it until I came to prepare this paper, and the interest and value of many of his judgements is only clear to me the second time around. But, no one reads him a second time. This is to be regretted, since, for all its faults (and it certainly has faults), it is at the same time a clear demonstration of the potential value of trying to write ‘grand narrative’, of the general synthesis.

One final question remains – why has *Ancient Sicily* not been superseded? One reason must be fear of the academic snobbery visible in its very reception. Another is that the flood tide of archaeology to which Finley referred in his introduction, which he made a great effort to incorporate and for which he was rightly praised, was in truth a mere trickle compared to the veritable inundation that now overwhelms us.⁸⁹ Few who know the material can likely contemplate the idea without going weak at the knees.⁹⁰ And the last is that, for all the snobbery, and for all its failings, Finley’s account is a true masterclass in compression and professional judgement. As Édouard Will wrote in 1970, ‘On s’incline devant une telle virtuosité dans la composition et la rédaction.’⁹¹

⁸⁹ Finley 1970: 9–10; 1979b: xi–xii; cf., e.g., Tusa, in *Kokalos* 20 (1974) 290.

⁹⁰ Wilson 1990 is the clearest illustration of the problem – it is the only such synthesis of the material, and that for only one period, and it is already more than twenty years out of date.

⁹¹ E. Will, *Rev. Hist.* 243.1 (1970) 169.

I am most grateful to Christopher Duggan, Richard Gordon, Catherine and Denis Mack Smith, and Richard Talbert for fielding my questions. Thanks are due also to John Wells and his colleagues in the manuscript room of the University Library, Cambridge, where there are four files labelled ‘Sicily’ among Finley’s papers – cited from these papers according to the relevant file numbers, Files A35, A36, E18 and E19. Paul Cartledge, Dan Tompkins, Kostas Vlassopoulos and other participants at the seminar in Cambridge also generously contributed thoughts and information for which I am no less grateful.

CHAPTER 7

FINLEY AND THE TEACHING OF ANCIENT HISTORY

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON

For Finley ancient Greece was a face-to-face society. This chapter, therefore, may start with a face-to-face encounter with Finley himself,¹ with that ‘dashing presence’ (Skinner), with a ‘most wonderful and motivational teacher’ (Dunn) who, cigarette in hand – unfiltered Woodbines only – would dominate a gathering or (no cigarettes then and regularly no notes either) would captivate his student audience in his lectures at Cambridge, where he taught from 1954 to 1979.² Well captured in Darwin College’s portrait of their Master (note the absent cigarette),³ the physical presence, the intently intelligent gaze, the questions he asked and the way he did so were, I believe, essential to the impact he made.

The aim of what follows is to consider the extent to which Finley changed how students were taught, at least in Cambridge, and his role more generally in the teaching of Ancient History in schools. With that in mind there are three main areas to cover: firstly, Finley the lecturer; secondly, Finley the supervisor; and, finally, his effect on the teaching of Ancient History in schools. The topic is large and there are limits to space but a brief outline is needed of the sources employed. Some things are well documented. For the relevant period I could consult the *Lecture List* supplements to the *Cambridge University*

¹ Much of what follows depends on a series of interviews and communications with a number of Finley’s former students. I am grateful to them all. For this cast of characters (Skinner, Dunn et al., as mentioned in parentheses) and extracts from their testimonies, see the Appendix to this chapter. Full transcripts are now deposited in the Finley archive of the Cambridge University Library (MS Add. 9750/255).

² In 1954, Dr Finley gave lectures as a visiting lecturer. He was only appointed to the Faculty the following year, appearing in the *Lecture List* as Mr. Finley.

³ See Fig. 3.

Reporter, the examination syllabuses (also in the *Reporter*), minutes of meetings of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers (JACT)⁴ and the early numbers of their journal *Didaskalos*, but much of my evidence is inevitably based on memory, and as Finley taught us, myth, memory and history are not easy to disentangle.⁵ Those of us who normally work on the ancient world are not well trained in the practice of oral history. Here, however, I place heavy reliance on recollections, both my own and those of others. So, in the words of Nicholas Purcell, this chapter concerns ‘the remembered Finley’.

First, I consider Finley as a lecturer.⁶ How far did what he taught and how he taught affect the study of Ancient History, first in Cambridge but then more broadly? Lectures for the university, as listed in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, represent only those officially required by the terms of his appointment (his ‘lecture stint’). In the UK at least, until prevented by ill health, Finley frequently lectured elsewhere – in colleges, schools, for local classical associations, on the radio and so on. So the record of the titles of his undergraduate lectures provides a somewhat misleading impression. The range of subjects he lectured on was not particularly large, and it changed very little during the whole period when Finley was in post. The main Greek history course that he offered in 1956 and 1957 for final-year students in Classics, who were specialising in Ancient History, was entitled ‘Greek History, 413–386 BC’. This was also the title of his final lectures for the same paper in 1977 and 1978, when he somewhat surprisingly shared the course with the Roman historian Elizabeth Rawson, a College Lecturer and Fellow at New Hall. Otherwise Greek history courses that he gave are recorded on Archaic, Classical and – primarily for the History (rather than the Classics) Faculty – Hellenistic history, and topic courses in both Greek and

⁴ I wish thank Daisy Dunn for access to these files and Pat Storey for related material. See too the Finley Papers in the Cambridge University Library (MS Add. 9607, box 4).

⁵ ‘Myth, Memory and History’, in [Finley 1965d](#) = [1975e](#): 11–33.

⁶ Details of informants quoted in this section are listed in Appendix A, unless otherwise indicated.

Roman subjects. His longest-running lecture course was that on 'Slavery', initially a set of four classes in 1957 shared with Professor A. H. M. ('Hugo') Jones, but then from 1959 offered by Finley alone as a final-year topic in both Greek and Roman history (Part II, Paper C4) for ten of the final twenty years that he was in post.

There were, however, a few innovations in the compass of lectures, and these were important ones. The scene was set already in the Michaelmas (i.e. Autumn) term of 1954 when Finley was in Cambridge as a visitor and lectured once a week in the History Faculty on an 'Introduction to the Economic History of the Ancient World' and twice a week in the Classics Faculty on the 'Economic History of Athens in the Fifth and the Fourth Centuries BC'. Such an emphasis on economic history was not entirely new; after all A. H. M. Jones was already the Professor of Ancient History. What was new, however, was the lecturing style and the way the subject was treated.

We need a little background to the times. Here I record my personal experience of the Classics Faculty in Cambridge from 1958 on; support comes from the recollections of several contemporaries. In the late 1950s (and well beyond) the subject of Ancient History was viewed and taught primarily as providing a background to literature.⁷ This was what John Sharwood Smith would later term 'old-style' Ancient History.⁸ An outline coverage of events with the emphasis on politics and wars was the stuff of lectures. Of course there was consideration of the main ancient historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus etc.), whom by the time of their second-year examinations (Part I) students were expected to read right through in the original, but when it came to lectures it was a matter of going through Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.* or Augustus' *Res Gestae* chapter by chapter and listening to the explication of a lecturer who normally read his (and it was almost always 'his') script aloud. On the

⁷ Cf. Finley 1965a: 66, in the context of schools 'I take it that the primary objective of classical schooling is the intelligent, disciplined reading of classical literature...'

⁸ Sharwood Smith 1977: 63–5.

whole – and I quote an informant⁹ – ‘lecturers were dire; they were boring, they read scripts and spoke as they had written’. ‘If, perchance, the Greeks ...’ is a phrase this colleague recalls. There *were* good wall charts of maps and some lecturers had plans of battles – that of Robert Runcie, later Archbishop of Canterbury, for the battle of Marathon was for many years around in the Classical map store. What exactly did Herodotus mean when he wrote that at Marathon the troops advanced ‘at a run’ (6.112.1, δρόμῳ)? To some degree, we *were* being asked to think but on the whole this was a matter rather of laying it out before us ‘as it was’, the stuff of lecture notes backed up by copious references to ancient texts. But with Jones and Finley – and that pairing is an important one – in lectures on economic and social history, on slavery or geography, undergraduates were faced with subjects not normally treated by ancient historians, and these were shown to be at least equally important to an understanding of the ancient world.

There was an important change of emphasis too. History – Ancient History, that is – was becoming somewhat more of a subject in its own right, and the nature of the ancient world was not what we had been brought up to think it was, like ours.¹⁰ His stress on its difference, on the alienness of the ancient world, was central to Finley’s teaching.

To some degree of course things were different in the History Faculty – and for Finley Ancient History *was* primarily history; his lectures for the Classics Faculty were, he made sure, always announced in the History Faculty listings. Yet even there, his arrival made a welcome change not just in the subjects he lectured on but, perhaps mainly, in how he lectured and wrote on history. In the words of Quentin Skinner, who entered Cambridge as an undergraduate in 1959 and later became Regius Professor of History, when Finley hit Cambridge this was a somewhat ‘dismal’ scene. Two ‘incandescent’ lecturers

⁹ Dr Margaret H. Williams (née Thomas), ancient historian and university teacher (Swansea, Hawaii, Open University and Edinburgh).

¹⁰ Cf. Finley 1964c: 15, ‘One has to learn to think for oneself – and to live in our world, not in a mythical, glorified past’; 16, ‘Some of the value in classics in fact lies not in their alleged universality but, on the contrary, in their profound differences from us, in their alien-ness.’

stood out: Walter Ullmann and Moses Finley. ‘Moses’, Skinner continued, ‘was simply a remarkable lecturer’. The three aspects he singles out were the style of delivery, the critical use of sources and the importance of asking the right questions. Others agree and it is from the History Faculty, perhaps even more than Classics, that similar testimonies come.¹¹

John Dunn, from the same generation as Skinner and later Professor of Politics in Cambridge, wrote in the preface to his first book how he learned from Finley that ‘the role of historian has a moral seriousness’, and this is a theme picked up by others too.¹² History was a serious matter and whatever the subject it was the approach that mattered, the questions that were asked and recognition of the limits to the evidence available for answering these. Today that may all seem self-evident. It was not so at the time.

Again and again style and content are inextricably entwined. In the words of Nancy Gregory (née Beare), who came up to Newnham in 1959, ‘we were fortunate enough to have many fine scholars among our lecturers, but he [Finley] was one of the few who could make his courses memorable. Without indulging in flights of oratory, he could hold your attention from start to finish, largely because he had something fresh and new to say, and he expressed himself with total clarity. He did not, as many others had done, see ancient history as a series of battle-fields and leaders; instead, he showed us the importance of economics and social history’. Anne Jackson writes that ‘What was so different about his approach was that, perhaps because he was American, he did not present ancient Greek history through the prism of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British imperial history nor through that of the British class system. ... As a lecturer he was crystal clear and completely gripping and held one’s interest as few could!’¹³ So again the importance of the lecturer’s style returns and the effect of the lecture performance is intimately bound in with its content. Both were crucial to Moses Finley’s impact. At the

¹¹ So Cook, Dunn, Skinner and Tuck, cf. Appendix D.

¹² Dunn and Cook in Appendix D.

¹³ Jackson in Appendix D.

time, as students attending lectures for exams, we were rarely asked to think or allowed to see a lecturer grappling with his thoughts before us. That is what Finley did.

It was Finley's lectures on slavery that were probably the most memorable and even influential. Interviewed more recently by Alan MacFarlane, John Dunn spoke of these lectures:¹⁴ 'Moses gave these wonderful lectures on slavery which he never quite made into a single dominating book, but I have never been taught by anyone else in that way. That was the really big change for me...'. For those attending these lectures, as I did in 1961, the experience was the highlight of the week. Top floor of Mill Lane, pens poised, ears, eyes and minds open and ready for the challenge. This was something new in Classics – a whole course on an underclass and the problems of discovering the role that slaves played. Finley has sometimes been criticised for failing to provide the material his audience would need to check out the picture he presented; his was often the broad-brush approach which, though stimulating, lacked detailed support.¹⁵ That was certainly not so for Slavery. The first page (much worn through long use over the years) of the initial dossier he provided of sources that we would need to think about is reproduced as [Figure 4](#). There were no concessions here to the Greekless. It starts with three pages of Greek – no translation provided – of fragments from Pollux (III, 73–83 on 'Greek terminology'), followed by references from Athenaeus, Polybius and Xenophon on different words and uses of words for slaves. It then provides, in its foolscap cyclostyled form, the major sources for Slavery in the Ancient World – Greece followed by Rome – with passages to illustrate slave numbers, nationality, the slave trade, markets, enslavement, the use of slaves, manumission, helotage, freedmen, slaves as non-persons and so on for eighteen pages. There are extracts from the penal codes, inscriptions, some papyri, the Digest and so on. Based on this extensive dossier, lectures provided a thorough and stimulating discussion as to

¹⁴ Interview of 5 March 2008, available on YouTube.

¹⁵ I myself remember one lecture when he asked a member of his audience to remind him of the number of tribes in Rome.

SLAVERY IN THE ANCIENT WORLDGREEK TERMINOLOGY Pollux III, 73-83

73. Δεσπότης, δεσπόζων, κύριος, κεκτημένος - Φρύνιχος γὰρ ἐν Σατύροις (frg 48 N²) τὸν δεσπότην κεκτημένον ὠνόμασεν - ἐωνημένος, πριάμενος· καὶ ὁ νεώτερος δεσπότης δεσποδίνως καὶ τρόφιμος. δεσποινα, δεσπόζουσα, κεκτημένη, ἐωνημένη, πριάμενή, τροφίμη· οὐ γὰρ προσίεται τὴν Σοφοκλέους (frg 938 N²) δεσποτεῖραν ἢ τὴν Εὐριπίδου (Med 17 saep) δεσπότην.

74. φαυλοτάτη δὲ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς νέοις καμφοδοῖς (III p 466. 319 Ko) ἀφρα καὶ ἀφρον καὶ ἀφάριον, νέας δεσποίνης ὑποκορίσματα. τὸ δὲ πρῶγμα δεσποτεία, καὶ τὸ ἐπίρρημα δεσποτικῶς, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα δεσπόζειν καὶ δεσπόζεσθαι· Πλάτων (Tim 44 D) δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσποτοῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπόζον εἴρηκεν. Λυσίας δὲ πού (frg 297 Tur) λέγει ἄδεσπότες, 'Ἡρόδοτος (IV 142) δ' ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα. Αριστοφάνης μέντοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν συνθήειαν τὸν δεσπότην 'αὐτὸν' κέκληκεν, εἰπὼν ἐν Δράμασιν ἡ Κενταύρῃ (I frg 268 Ko)

ἀνοιγέτω τις δάματ'· αὐτὸς ἔρχεται.
δοῦλος δοῦλη· ἡ δὲ δοῦλις 'Υπερείδῃ (frg 235 B1³) εἰρημένον φαῦλόν ἐστιν.

οἰκέτης οἰκέτις, θεράπων θεράπαινα θεραπαίνις· εἰ δ' ὁ κατὰ Δωροθέου λόγος 'Υπερείδου (frg 99 B1³), φησὶν ἐν αὐτῇ 'ὥσπερ τὸ ἀτιμότεστον θεραπόντιον'.

75. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκετῶν θεραπεῖα· τὸ γὰρ θεραπουσία βιαιότερον, ἀλλ' ἡ δουλεία κατὰ Θουκυδίδην (V 23.3). ἔργον δὲ δουλικὸν Ἀραῶς (II frg 18 Ko), καὶ δουλικώτατος Ξενοφῶν (Cyrus VII 4. 15). καὶ δουλώσαι, καταδουλώσασθαι, καὶ δεδουλωμένος Θουκυδίδης (I 68.3 saep). καὶ δοῦλσις· ἡ γὰρ δουλοσύνη 'Ιωνικόν. δουλοκρεπές δὲ (Apolg 30) καὶ δουλοκρεπέστερον Ξενοφῶν (Memorab II 8.4), καὶ δουλοκρεπέστατα Κρατίδος (I frg 403 Ko) καὶ δουλοκρέπεια Θεόπομος ὁ καμικός (I frg 87 Ko).

76. καὶ δουλάρια μεταγένης, (I frg 19 Ko) καὶ οἰκετικὰ ὀνόματα Πλάτων (Sophr 226 B). διάκονος, δηρέτης, ἀργυρώνητος, ὦνιος, οἰκότριψ, ἡ δ' ἀντικειμένη τοῦτ' σηκίς καλεῖται ἡ οἰκογενής· ἡ γὰρ ταμία τῆς πίστεως τοῦνομα παιδίσκη· οὐδὲ τὴν θεραπαίνίδα Λυσίας (frg 136 Tur) ὠνόμασεν, εἰ μὴ ἀμφιβολόν ἐστι, πότερον ἡλικίας τοῦνομα ἢ τύχης· λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καλλίου ὕβρεως 'ἔξελοῦσα αὐτοῦ ἡ παιδίσκη τὴν θύραν ἀνοίγουσιν'. τὸ δὲ παιδίον τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκοτριβῶν οἰκοτριβαῖον ὠνόμαζον.

77. τῷ μέντοι ἀνηθέντι οἰκέτῃ τραγῆματα κατέχεον, δ' ἐκαλεῖτο καταχύσματα. ἀνδράποδα, καὶ ἀνδραπόδια παρ' Ὑπερείδῃ (frg 227 B1³), ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ ἀνδραποδίσσασθαι καὶ ἀνδραποδισμένης, καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ (VI 62.3), καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδες παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (Mem IV 2.22), καὶ ἀνδραποδωδῶς

FIG. 4 The opening page of Finley's dossier of sources on ancient slavery.

the limits of what we can and cannot know of ancient slavery. ‘NB the loose use of language’, I find in my notes to lecture 1, ‘like the phrase “hiring money” used in Maine!’ No wonder ‘exotic’ is an adjective used for Moses by more than one of my informants.¹⁶ America and Americans, let alone New Yorkers, were very strange to us then.¹⁷ The lack of information was a constant theme of the Slavery lectures and the unsatisfactory nature of numbers in ancient sources. These were important lessons – and ones still not always recognised. Finley’s bibliography for students was stuffed with French and German works and at the same time we were asked to look beyond the standard works of Ancient History, particularly to the experience of the American South. In the 1970s, after the publication that is of the work of Fogel and Engerman,¹⁸ this aspect of the course was expanded. Slavery was a course devised for the Classics Faculty, but many from the History Faculty were also there. The subject involved serious historical engagement.

So far the main change of emphasis mentioned has been towards social and economic questions, and in this, as already indicated, the combination of A. H. M. Jones and Moses Finley was, I believe, important. Starting in 1957, the same year that Finley and Jones together gave their initial class on Ancient Slavery, for a few years the pair gave a series of joint seminars – places were limited and needed to be applied for – normally held in Jesus College where they discussed the Decline of the Greek City State¹⁹ or the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.²⁰ (Jones of course was already working on his great oeuvre, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social*

¹⁶ Drinkwater, Appendix B, and Jackson, Appendix A; see further Battersby, Appendix D.

¹⁷ ‘He was utterly different from any teacher I’d had anything to do with. My own previous experience of American Jewish left-wing intellectuals was non-existent, as I suspect was the case with a large number of the public schoolboys who, in those days, made up the bulk of classics students’ (Jackson, Appendix D); cf. Richard Talbert (Appendix B): ‘Finley’s Greek history lectures for Classics Pt I engaged me (and many others) because his American accent and style were both different and appealing.’

¹⁸ Fogel and Engerman 1971, 1974; Stampp 1956 was there from the start.

¹⁹ 1960 and 1961.

²⁰ 1957, 1960 and 1961. Joint teaching in either lectures or seminars was not common at the time; with Finley it entered regular Faculty practice.

and *Administrative Survey*, 2 vols, Oxford, published in 1973). The atmosphere here and the method of instruction were very different. Many of the students I have already mentioned were there – Skinner, Dunn and Cook; Keith Hopkins was also there, I remember, and there were others of course.²¹ I think I was the only female student in both years I took part. We could all sit round one table, so there were probably not more than fifteen in all. Seminars were something new at the time and, as John Dunn reports, ‘we were able to join in with the discussions!’. Skinner comments on the style of the proceedings and the ‘gentle deference’ that Moses always showed to Hugo [Jones] in contrast to the ‘bravura’ of Finley’s lecturing style. Again this was a serious business, immensely stimulating too. ‘It was exciting’, Dunn recalls, ‘history as thought ... and ... these thoughts were happening in front of you. It was a demonstration of how to answer a question, to see exactly what the question was. A thrilling experience – to listen and then hear and see for oneself. A training in disciplined disbelief...’. Looking back on these classes it is clear now that the seminar leaders were truly grappling with the subjects themselves, and were using their students as part of that process. This was education in action; the subject was Ancient History, but the application of the lessons learnt was far wider in scope.

A few final comments may be proffered on Finley the lecturer and the areas of Ancient History he was involved in. In 1970 Finley became Professor of Ancient History at Cambridge and in the following year a one-hour ‘Introduction to Ancient History’ – commonly known as the ‘Propaedeutic’ – appeared for the first time in the *Lecture List* next to his name. That course was later expanded – from one to two hours with different sessions for years 1 and 2. It was not just the course content that the department needed to think about but also, since many had never studied Ancient History at school, how best that subject could be tackled. Student study, he believed,

²¹ Most who attended were members of the History Faculty. As already noted, Quentin Skinner and John Dunn were later professors in Cambridge. Michael Cook is Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton, NJ, and Keith Hopkins became Professor of Ancient History at Cambridge.

required guidance. 'Greek and Roman Political Theory' was a further area of interest to Finley, with lectures offered first in Classics in 1968 and then in the History Faculty in a course that he later shared (from 1973) with Richard Tuck, now Frank G. Thomson Professor of Government at Harvard.²² And in 1972 yet a further short course was introduced to the more traditional set of historical lectures in Classics on the 'Geography of the Greco-Roman World'.²³ In his last five years as professor no new courses were added, but Finley continued to do his stint while of course active on other fronts (and subject also to some quite serious health problems).

Before moving on to supervision, let me try to assess the impact of Finley the lecturer. His personal charisma, I would suggest, combined with his lecturing style and, above all, the content of his lectures to influence a generation of historians, both within and, especially, outside the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge. It was an influence on how to approach history but also on the sort of history studied. 'Social and economic history' was what we tended to do;²⁴ it held much the same cachet as perhaps is held by 'cultural history' today.

One of the chief ways in which a university teacher makes his or her mark is through supervising the work of students – both undergraduates and graduates.²⁵ Finley's role in both aspects was memorable for those (including myself) whose supervisor he was. As a teacher of undergraduates, he is variously described: 'an excellent supervisor' providing 'help, encouragement and inspiration' (Duncan-Jones), someone who took 'a real interest in his pupils' (Drinkwater), who responded to student initiative (Stray) and who had high standards. Richard Tuck, who was from Finley's last generation of undergraduate students (the American sociologist Daniel Bell formed part of

²² 'Early Christian' was at same time added to 'Greek and Roman.'

²³ 1972, 1973 and 1974, given jointly with M. H. Crawford.

²⁴ On his Princeton website, Michael Cook, Professor of Near Eastern Studies, writes: 'When I began my research, it was common knowledge that the history that really counted was economic and social history pursued with rigorously quantitative methods.'

²⁵ Details of informants quoted in this section are listed in Appendix B unless otherwise indicated.

the first), remembers how morning supervisions in Jesus would start with a ritual call to the Buttery to send up a loaf of bread and a packet of Woodbines. For Stephen Kern it is the memory of the sherry, up to three glasses of Tio Pepe at the end of a day, which characterised supervisions. Richard Gordon provides my fullest account of an undergraduate supervision:

His room on First Court was light and bright, with windows at either end – itself a metaphor for his kind of teaching. He would sit in his arm-chair on the other side of the coffee-table, opposite the green three-seater sofa, where his pupils sat. Once one began to read, it wouldn't be long before he would interrupt, briefly or at length, and then lean forward to emphasise a point or light a cigarette, which in those days seemed a gesture of informality, of private conversation. The essay-reading was never completed, but one always came away with the satisfaction of having come to see the problem in a larger, or at least different, light. He was opinionated, but his opinions were never trivial or solipsistic. ... Although this teaching was perfectly routine for him, he never gave one the impression of being bored or pre-occupied – even at that level, *par negotio*, he took his students seriously by not talking down to them too obviously and by intimating the intellectual seriousness of the Enterprise Ancient History.

Richard Gordon, who was a student at Jesus College, is one of just a few of Finley's undergraduate supervisees who became his graduate student.²⁶ It is, however, as a graduate student that my own memories come, as is the case for many who answered my questionnaire.

What about Finley's influence on what Gordon ([Appendix D](#)) names 'Enterprise Ancient History'? Again we need to think ourselves back in time. On starting research few research students had a clear idea of what it was they wanted to do. Grants were regularly awarded to those with first-class degrees who applied, as long as they had support. Finley provided good support and on more than one occasion was responsible for activating applications for research.²⁷ But whilst he might, as it were, engage in talent-spotting among the third-year undergraduates, he did not, on the whole, press particular

²⁶ So too John Drinkwater, the Roman historian who later taught at Nottingham University.

²⁷ This was certainly true in my own case.

subjects upon them. Richard J. A. Talbert, now William Rand, Jr. Professor in the History Faculty of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is an exception. He reports that Finley had a hand in steering him towards Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon* in the summer of 1968, the same summer that Finley's vol. 1 of *A History of Sicily* appeared. More generally, however, students were simply given some broad advice, which took account of what they said they were interested in. The footnotes of M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of either the Hellenistic World or Rome* were often indicated as a good quarry for topics.²⁸ In my own case, when I expressed interest in working in the area of social history involving Greek rather than Latin, Finley remembered the lectures at Columbia of William Linn Westermann, whose work on slavery he certainly did not admire, and sent me off to 'play papyri' and to find myself a topic – as I duly did.²⁹

Meetings with one's supervisor were not regularly scheduled. They took place on the request of either side at monthly or even longer intervals; these encounters were regularly at 20, Adams Road, the Finley home, and nearly always in the morning.³⁰ Moses was a tough critic, who always told you when something you had written did not come up to standard. He was honest with his students. Richard Winton, another research student who later taught at Nottingham University, describes the devastation he felt when Finley reacted to something he was rather proud of: 'Half of this is rubbish, and the other half we all know.' 'This meant', Winton continues, 'that one really appreciated when he did give some praise. I always looked forward to supervisions ...'; others report much the same.

I should like here to recall a supervision which reflects as interestingly on Finley's professionalism as it does on my own ignorance and naiveté. I had been working for some time on

²⁸ So Thompson and Whitehead.

²⁹ Later published as Crawford 1971.

³⁰ Finley did not write in the morning; 'he said he could never do serious writing at that time of day – a legacy from his youth in New York, when he did his best work when the place had quietened down late at night' (Hodkinson, later Professor of Ancient History at Nottingham).

a particular papyrological archive where I had noticed that at a certain level of the administration individuals on occasion changed their names. Sometimes they carried double names – names that were both Egyptian and Greek – but sometimes they used their Greek names and sometimes their Egyptian ones.³¹ Telling my supervisor what I had noticed, in complete ignorance of his own history, I asked him what he thought was going on. Were these Egyptians acting as social climbers, or where they Greeks going native? What was to be made of the phenomenon? ‘What did *I* think?’, was his reply. The discussion continued in all seriousness and I picked up no sense of anything untoward. It was many, many months, if not years, later that I learnt of Finley’s own change of name and I now look back on that morning with amazement at how detached, or apparently detached, he could be.³²

Something that Finley’s students all report on is how aware he was of the human needs of his students. He realised if he was pushing his criticism too far and was able to say the right thing to restore equilibrium.³³ ‘Take two weeks off and get away’, he once advised me when he found the chapter I had just drafted to be weak. He also, as many report, unfailingly supported graduate students in public, not just his own students but any graduate who was presenting a paper.³⁴ If he thought criticism was needed, he kept this until afterwards (in private). The confidence so engendered was important. It was, I suspect, one of the reasons for the generally constructive atmosphere of the graduate seminars which took place from the mid-sixties onwards, at first under A. H. M. Jones and later under Moses Finley, with John Crook, Finley’s successor as Professor of Ancient History, so memorably filling the role of devil’s advocate.³⁵

³¹ E.g. Menches also known as Asklepiades, whose father was Petesouchos also known as Ammonios.

³² On Finley’s own name change, see p. 13.

³³ So Gabriel Herman (Professor of Ancient History, Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Anne Jackson (who later taught at the Open University; see Appendix A).

³⁴ So John Drinkwater, Steve Hodgkinson, Ricardo Martínez Lacy, Richard Talbert and (Appendix A) Dominic Rathbone.

³⁵ Jones initiated the graduate seminar in Ancient History, continued under Finley. Two volumes resulted: [Finley 1976c](#); [Garnsey and Whittaker 1978](#).

In the 1960s there was little in the way of graduate training, and though at times this might be something of a hit-and-miss affair there were compensations. Finley gave his students their head, encouraging them to exploit the wider resources of Cambridge. But *Enterprise Ancient History*, as we learnt early on, was also an international enterprise. Finley's network of colleagues and friends stretched widely over the continents and he encouraged his students to travel and to study elsewhere. And when visitors came to Cambridge with his lavish entertainment, mainly at home where Mary, as hostess, always took part in discussions, but also within the seminar or lecture format, he brought his research students into early contact with scholars from all over the world: from France Claude Mossé, Alain and Annie Schnapp, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Jean-Paul Vernant, from Italy Ettore Lepore, from Czechoslovakia Jan Pečírka, from Poland Iza Biežuńska-Małowist, to name just those whom I met and came to know, some of course better than others. But it meant that on going to Paris there were colleagues to look up and have dinner with, or friends to visit in Naples, in Prague, Warsaw or Leningrad (as it then was). This was a far-stretching world in which neither age nor status was guiding factors; what mattered was a common involvement in Ancient History (and possibly a particular political outlook, though this was simply assumed and never pressed upon one).

The programme that his supervisor organised for Richard Gordon (quoted in [Appendix D](#)) may have involved more study away than for most, but maybe not.³⁶ I too was away from Cambridge for two long periods at the British School in Athens and spent a summer in Brussels, where I was guided in papyrology by Jean Bingen at the Fondation Égyptologique. 'You must go to talk with Claire Préaux', said Moses, which I duly did. And I have regularly been going back to Belgium ever since. The international participation of those involved in *Enterprise Ancient History* here in Cambridge is I think a key legacy of Finley's outlook. Students came to study with

³⁶ Richard Winton and Steve Hodkinson report similarly.

Finley from far afield – from Mexico,³⁷ from Israel,³⁸ as well as from Europe, the US and from closer to home – and Finley's students were regularly encouraged to get involved in projects overseas.

So finally, we reach Finley and the teaching of Ancient History in schools.³⁹ In 1964 J. H. Plumb edited a Penguin volume entitled *Crisis in the Humanities*. Finley's was the first chapter on 'Crisis in the Classics', which provocatively starts: 'A visitor from Mars could be pardoned for asking, What crisis?' This is the first piece I know where Finley writes about the problem of education in schools (and it is relevant in this context that his wife, Mary, was a schoolteacher). Current education, he complains, is about inculcation rather than learning to think.⁴⁰ He went on to question whether the amount of time spent on translation from and into Latin and Greek in classical sixth forms and at the university was time well spent. What was needed, he suggested, was a syllabus suited also to meet the needs of youngsters who would become 'engineers or historians or academic scientists or civil servants'. His view of a classical education involved direct confrontation with ancient writers by those equally interested in the present, in the world in which they lived.

Finley was never a man just to talk. He also acted in a skilled and targeted manner. At a conference organised by John Sharwood Smith at the University of London's Institute of Education on 21–2 March 1964, the teaching of Ancient History was discussed by a group of teachers joined by five from university education departments and an HMI, with John A. Crook in the chair.⁴¹ A paper by Finley lay at the base of discussion, an earlier version of that published the following year in the first number of *Didaskalos*, the newly founded journal of JACT, in which the case was made for an Ancient

³⁷ Ricardo Martínez Lacy, now Professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

³⁸ Gabriel Herman.

³⁹ Details of informants quoted in this section are listed in Appendix C, unless otherwise indicated.

⁴⁰ Finley 1964c: 15.

⁴¹ Details from JACT files. HMI stands for Her Majesty's Inspector (for Schools).

History A level syllabus based on ancient sources to be read in translation.⁴² It is hard for us now, I think, fully to appreciate how revolutionary this was, but in his later book *On Teaching Classics* John Sharwood Smith, the founding father of JACT (1962), editor of *Didaskalos* and influential teacher at the University of London's Institute of Education, characterises the striking difference between 'old-style' and 'new-style' Ancient History.⁴³ A meeting in Cambridge in January 1965 discussed the syllabus – an ambitious one with both period and thematic options – and an application was made to the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board for a new Ancient History option. In July 1966, during a week-long meeting, again held in Jesus College, some sixty teachers heard about the new proposals, discussed questions of teaching and the question of what books might be assigned. More translations were needed and suitable editions too. (The edition published the following year by Peter Brunt and John Moore of Augustus' *Res Gestae* was one of the first of these.)⁴⁴ Discussions too – it was reported – were on-going with Penguin with a view to relevant translations.⁴⁵ It was not long before production commenced of the memorable LACTORs (London Association of Classical Teachers' Original Records), offering sources in translation,⁴⁶ and Finley himself was soon involved with his Chatto & Windus series Ancient Culture and Society with this new enthusiastic audience in mind.⁴⁷ For advice on books in this series, he drafted in willing schoolteachers to comment on the coverage and the level of their content.⁴⁸

⁴² Finley 1965a.

⁴³ Sharwood Smith 1977: 62–9.

⁴⁴ Brunt and Moore 1967. John W. Moore, later Headmaster of Radley College, was a key player in JACT Ancient History at this time.

⁴⁵ See the Report made by the Secretary of the Ancient History Sub-Committee to the AGM of JACT in 1966.

⁴⁶ The initiative resulted from a conversation between Mark Greenstock, Assistant Master in Classics at Harrow School, and Christopher Stray, then teaching at Latymer Upper School. The name JACTORs was rejected because of the existence of Jackdaws, packs of sources for modern history. Finley arranged some financial support.

⁴⁷ In the field of Ancient History, this was one of the earliest such series. The Thames & Hudson series Aspects of Greek and Roman Life, edited by H. H. Scullard, was both earlier and more successful; it was, however, aimed at a wider audience.

⁴⁸ So Mark Greenstock and Christopher Stray.

Enterprise Ancient History was advancing on all fronts and on 22 August 1966 an article by Finley in *The Times* announced the new JACT Ancient History A level to be introduced that autumn for examination in 1968. 'The traditional "outlines" of Greek and Roman history', he wrote, 'have to go. ... the pace required to get through several centuries of history makes it impossible to stop and think and analyse and debate'. This was a syllabus not just for Classics specialists but 'equally for the many whose one opportunity this will be to study the classical world in a systematic way'.

JACT now acquired an Ancient History Sub-Committee, with Finley as its Chairman until 1971. In July 1968 a meeting in London identified the need for on-going support for teachers and an Ancient History Bureau was set up, charged with the task of answering questions. 'Really difficult questions', it is recorded, 'would be sent to Messrs Finley, Cawkwell and Brunt ...; less difficult ones would be distributed to members of the team; easy ones would be dealt with by the Secretary [Mark Greenstock] by return of post.' The Bureau published a *Broadsheet* with book reviews and short articles and an on-going series of teachers' courses was established.⁴⁹ All was up and running and the new JACT Ancient History, with its emphasis on reading ancient sources, met with initial success.⁵⁰ And when on 16 March 1971 Finley resigned as Chair for medical reasons the tone of the minutes of the meeting imply an established and upbeat organisation; they include the announcement that LACTOR 8 (on inscriptions) was well underway.⁵¹ In the words of John Murrell, the long-serving

⁴⁹ A meeting was organised by Brunt at Oriel College, Oxford, in July 1968, on the future of the syllabus. Thereafter, refresher courses were to be held every two years. That in Bristol (1970) lost £2.00; that in Canterbury (1972) was not a success. Thereafter, meetings were held in 'Oxbridge'. In London, John Sharwood Smith also organised six meetings on specific topics.

⁵⁰ At the meeting of 11 November 1970, concern was expressed that of the boys from Uppingham school the more able taking the JACT A level syllabus had done less well than had the less able taking traditional A levels. Action followed and further seminars for teachers were planned.

⁵¹ Following Finley's resignation as chair of the JACT Ancient History Subcommittee in March 1971 I note a change of tone in the minutes and a diminution of activities.

Finley and the Teaching of Ancient History

Secretary General of JACT: 'I can only say that MIF revolutionised the teaching of Ancient History in schools and probably saved the subject as his successor Robin Osborne did some thirty years or more later.'⁵²

That seems the place to finish. Humanities it seems are always in crisis and our subject always in need of saving, but for a period in the sixties and seventies in Cambridge and the country at large, the influence of Moses Finley on the teaching of Ancient History was immense. It was an influence that depended on the dynamism, the beliefs (strongly held), the charisma and the constant initiatives of the one individual who through his lectures and teaching in Cambridge, as well as through his writing, influenced a generation of historians, and through his vision and unstinting work with teachers and schools brought an appreciation of the ancient world to a wider audience in the community at large.

Appendix

- A. Register of those consulted on Finley as a lecturer (in alphabetical order with Cambridge college or other affiliation and date of first Cambridge, or other, degree):

Battersby, Roslynne (née Green), Girton, BA 1970.
Bowman, Alan K., Oxford BA 1966; Assistant Professor at Rutgers, NJ, in 1972 when Finley returned to lecture there.
Cartledge, Paul A., Clare, PhD (incorporated) 1970 (Oxford BA 1969).
Cook, Michael A., King's, BA 1963.
Crawford, Michael H., Christ's, MA 1965 (Oxford BA 1960).
Dunn, John M., King's, BA 1962.
Garney, Peter D. A., Jesus, PhD (incorporated) 1967 (Sydney BA 1961).
Gregory, Nancy (née Beare), Newnham, BA 1963.
Hawthorn, Geoffrey P., Clare Hall, MA status 1970 (Oxford BA 1962).
Jackson, Alastair H., St John's, BA 1964.

⁵² Cf. Bowen: 'I think the creation of the JACT Ancient History course was crucial: more interesting [than Classical Civilization courses] and well resourced.'

Dorothy J. Thompson

- Jackson, Anne E. (née Chapman), Newnham, BA 1962.
Keenan, James G., BA 1965 (College of the Holy Cross, Mass.);
Assistant Professor of Classics, Berkeley, CA in 1972 when
Finley was Sather Lecturer.
Paulson-Ellis, Christina M. (née Brunyate), Girton, BA 1961.
Rathbone, Dominic W., Jesus, BA 1978.
Skinner, Quentin D. R., Gonville and Caius (later Christ's),
BA 1962.
Tuck, Richard F., Jesus, BA 1970.
Williams, Margaret H. (née Thomas), Girton, BA 1968.

Also consulted online:

- Filmed interviews, at www.alanmacfarlane.com/ancestors/, of
John M. Dunn and Quentin D. R. Skinner (for both of whom,
see above).
Paul L. J. Halstead (King's, BA 1973), at www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/4/, 'A Bone to Pick (Part 6)'.

B. Register of those consulted on Finley in Cambridge as an undergraduate and/or doctoral supervisor (in alphabetical order with Cambridge college and date of relevant degrees):

- Drinkwater, John F., Jesus, BA 1968.
Duncan-Jones, Richard P., King's (later Gonville and Caius),
BA 1959, PhD 1965.
Gordon, Richard L., Jesus, BA 1966, PhD 1973.
Herman, Gabriel, Darwin, PhD 1985.
Hodkinson, Stephen J., Wolfson, supervised by Finley 1975–,
PhD 1993.
Kern, Stephen J., Jesus, BA 1972.
Martinez Lacy, J. Ricardo F., Wolfson, supervised by Finley
1976–, PhD 1987.
Stray, Christopher A., Sidney Sussex, BA 1966.
Talbert, Richard J. A., Corpus Christi, BA 1968, PhD 1972.
Thompson, Dorothy J. (née Walbank), Girton, BA 1961,
PhD 1966.
Tuck, Richard F., Jesus, BA 1970, PhD 1977.
Whitehead, David, Clare, BA 1972, PhD 1975.
Winton, Richard I., Christ's, BA 1966, PhD 1974.

C. Register of those consulted on Finley's involvement in school curricula and teaching (in alphabetical order with relevant details added where possible):

Finley and the Teaching of Ancient History

- Bowen, Anthony J., St John's, BA 1962; taught Classics at Shrewsbury School before returning to Cambridge as Lector in the Faculty of Classics.
- Crawford, Michael H., Christ's, MA 1965 (Oxford BA 1960); Professor of Ancient History, University College London; Chairman of JACT Ancient History Committee 1978–84 and of JACT Council 1992–5.
- Greenstock, Mark C., Oxford BA 1961; Assistant Master (Classics) at Harrow School 1966–2001; Secretary, JACT Ancient History Committee 1960s and 70s; General Editor of *LACTORS* for some years.
- Hardwick, Lorna P., Professor of Classical Studies, Open University, President of JACT 2005–7.
- Hughes, Kenneth R., Oxford BA 1961; taught Classics at Whitgift, City of London and Eton, ending up as Head of Classics at Tiffin School. *LACTOR* Secretary 1997–2008.
- Lister, Robert W., St John's, BA 1974; Classics teacher 1976–91; Lecturer in Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge 1991–2008.
- Murrell, John, University College London, BA 1961; Classics teacher; Executive/Consultant Secretary of JACT 1977–98.
- Osborne, Robin G., King's, BA 1979; Chairman, JACT Ancient History Committee 1996–2001.
- Stray, Christopher A., Sidney Sussex, BA 1966; Classics teacher; member of JACT Ancient History Committee in late 1960s when Finley (followed by Peter Brunt) was Chair; academic research with interest in history of classical education and scholarship.
- Thorpe, Martin A., Sidney Sussex, BA 1959; Classics teacher, later headmaster; Chairman of JACT Council when Finley was President (1981–3).

D. Extracts from testimony of selected individuals (in alphabetical order):

Roslynne Battersby (née Green, Girton, BA 1970, Classics teacher). By email (4 May 2011):

I do remember the excitement of his lectures. There always seemed to be a whiff of danger and anticipation as he walked in, enhanced by his red shirts. In an age of innocence (for some of us at least) and suits and ties, Moses in his shirt sleeves – when [Professor Denys] Page still wore his gown – seemed very, very daring and made us feel vicariously *avant-garde*.

Michael Cook (King's, BA 1963, later Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton). By email (30 May 2011):

At Cambridge I went to all his lectures I could – including sitting in on his special subject lectures on ancient slavery. Why?

First because he was an outstanding lecturer – real cool, as American undergraduates would say today, and he could do it without notes.

Second, because he had a much more systematic, issue-driven approach to history than most of the historians I was exposed to ... To the extent that I ever learnt that history is a discipline, he was the first person I learnt it from. In other words, hearing him had a very strong influence on the way I thought about historical questions in general, not just in Ancient History.

Third, there was something very grown up about him that as an immature undergraduate I found very enviable. ... he had a certain political glitz arising not just from his politics but also from the circumstances under which he left the US; that meant more to me then than it does now, but I retain a strong sense of his moral seriousness.

John M. Dunn (King's, BA 1962, later Professor of Politics in Cambridge). Extract from the preface to *The Political Thought of John Locke* (1969):

‘More personally I should like to record what I owe to Moses Finley, who first made me understand that the role of historian has a moral seriousness ...’

Notes on conversation on Thursday 26 May 2011:

He went to the Finley + Hugo Jones classes on Greek democracy and on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Exciting. History as thought. (Postan also, but there the thoughts had happened earlier whereas with MIF + AHMJ they were happening in front of you). Comparison with AHMJ who was quiet and not at all a performer. An important pairing. Demonstration of how to answer a question – listen and then think. To see exactly what the question was. A thrilling experience – to listen and then hear and see for oneself. A training in disciplined disbelief. To understand that comprehension would be wonderful – it really mattered. Immensely valuable experience. Motivational. A spell easy to fall under.

Slavery lectures – his deepest engagement and the one which the world failed to see (i.e. he never really published what went into those lectures).

Finley and the Teaching of Ancient History

Things not being withheld. Documentation in front of you. 'I really loved it'. 'The greatest influence on me'. What MIF showed me/stood for was that past and present are a single challenge. Understanding is not an isolated activity – a very serious activity.

Richard L. Gordon (Jesus, BA 1966, PhD 1973). By email (24 April 2011):

His room on First Court was light and bright, with windows at either end – itself a metaphor for his kind of teaching. He would sit in his arm-chair on the other side of the coffee-table, opposite the green three-seater sofa, where his pupils sat. Once one began to read, it wouldn't be long before he would interrupt, briefly or at length, and then lean forward to emphasise a point or light a cigarette, which in those days seemed a gesture of informality, of private conversation. The essay-reading was never completed, but one always came away with the satisfaction of having come to see the problem in a larger, or at least different, light. He was opinionated, but his opinions were never trivial or solipsistic ... Although this teaching was perfectly routine for him, he never gave one the impression of being bored or pre-occupied – even at that level, *par negotio*, he took his students seriously by not talking down to them too obviously and by intimating the intellectual seriousness of the Enterprise Ancient History. He always encouraged me to attend lectures in Arch&Anth [Archaeology and Anthropology], where I heard all the now great names. ...

At Part II I had sessions with him alone; I hardly ever finished an essay, having learned that we would never get to the end of p.1 – once, even, I had only written one paragraph [?] but of course I had done a great deal of work; and increasingly we tended to move away from the subject; it was then that he would talk about his recent or current work and interests, technical innovation, debt-bondage, slavery, the embedded economy, Max Weber and the consumer city, Marcel Mauss and gift-exchange, generalisation and the purpose of history, ... Arnaldo Momigliano, M. I. Rostovtzeff, Eduard Meyer, Rudolf von Jhering, Johannes Hasebroek, Louis Gernet, William Westermann, Tenney Frank, Chester Starr, Eric Hobsbawm, *Past & Present*, ...

MIF naturally became my PhD supervisor, and organised for me highly formative periods of external study: immediately

after Finals in 1966 to Freiburg i/B to attend the seminars of Hermann Strasburger for six weeks; weekly attendance for a year in 1966–67 at a conversion course to sociology under David Martin at the LSE; 1967–68 six months at the École Pratique in Paris; Spring 1969 three months at the British School at Rome ...

Anne E. Jackson (Newnham, BA 1962; later taught at the Open University). By email (1 May 2011):

He was, I think ‘exotic’, in his looks, his manner and his approach to Ancient History. He was utterly different from any teacher I’d had anything to do with. My own previous experience of American Jewish left-wing intellectuals was non-existent, as I suspect was the case with a large number of the public schoolboys who, in those days, made up the bulk of Classics students. ...

What was so different about his approach was that, perhaps because he was American, he did not present ancient Greek history through the prism of 18th & 19th century British imperial history nor through that of the British class system. He did not give the impression, as did all my school text-books and the (admittedly rather poor) teaching I had received, that things true of modern British history applied to the world of the ancient Greeks (for example seeing Athenian democracy through the lens of modern parliamentary democracy or ancient Greek slavery through that of the plantation slaves of the Southern states and the West Indies). He asked questions about what the ancient Greeks’ world was *really* like and made clear how very different it was from our own. He had the knack of asking the right questions and they were often the kind of questions that someone not brought up in the Classical tradition would ask – the kind of searching question which people in extra-mural classes ask ... [D]eparting from history that was all wars and dryly presented political developments, ‘he gave history a human face’ as it were and helped us to see that it was about real, ordinary people and how they lived their lives. He talked about dead people as though they were living people! As a lecturer he was crystal clear and completely gripping and held one’s interest as few could!

Quentin D. R. Skinner (Gonville and Caius 1959, later Regius Professor of History in Cambridge). By email (24 April 2011):

As an undergraduate I went to his outline course of lectures, but not to the ones on slavery; I also attended the seminar

Finley and the Teaching of Ancient History

he used to give in Jesus with Hugo Jones. What I most recall about him from the seminars was his gentle deference towards HJ – a manner that contrasted strongly with his very forthright lecturing style.

I was surprised to discover, on, working out M's age from the centenary date, that he must have been 50 when I first heard him lecture. He looked and seemed much younger, and was indeed a dashing presence.

There are three things I most remember about the lectures. One is that they were delivered without notes, and yet were always very clearly structured for note-taking ... it gave him, of course, a special rapport with his audience.

A second thing I remember was that he was the only lecturer who ever gave me a strong sense that what you can say, in addressing historical questions, is no more than what the sources allow you to say, and that they allow you to say with assurance far fewer things than most historians appear to suppose.

This critical approach was allied with – and stemmed from – the strong sense M conveyed that what matters in history is asking the right questions and trying in effect to devote one's full attention to solving puzzles. This is the third and most important point I remember.

He had an apparent contempt for the merely factual which also contrasted strongly with most other lecturers, who seemed content to tell one lots of purported facts. He would always say: 'if you want to know the facts about [some issue] you can easily find them in anyone's history of Greece'. The strong implication was that it was only beyond this point that the serious enquiry began.

Was Moses aware of the philosophical point relating to this feature of his approach? Was he telling us that 'history' isn't simply out there, awaiting our attention? It's we who ask the questions, and we who supply answers to satisfy us. But the questions can change, and if they do then what we study as 'history' will have changed too. I'm not sure, however, that M was self-conscious about this, for when I later got to know him I always found him – disappointingly, for me – uninterested in philosophical questions about the discipline, despite his high analytical skills.

Richard Tuck (Jesus College, Cambridge, 1967, now Professor of Government at Harvard). Conversation (14 May 2012):

Dorothy J. Thompson

As a lecturer ... he was unusually conversational for the Cambridge of those days – you had the impression (probably correct) that he was simply standing up and talking about what he was interested in, and what he knew you would be interested in.

CHAPTER 8

FINLEY'S JOURNALISM

MARY BEARD

Scoop?

In 1952, just before Moses Finley left the United States, one of the cultural 'scoops' in London was the story of the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris. This was first broadcast (literally) thanks to the enterprise of a young BBC radio producer (and ex-Oxford classicist) called Prudence Smith, who would later play a considerable part in Finley's journalistic career.

Reminiscing from old age, she said:

Michael Ventris worked with my husband ... and we knew him and his wife well ... Michael was said to be working on the Cretan tablets – ha ha, a funny thing for an architect to do. But he was, he damn well was. One night (I shall never forget it) we went to dinner at his new house in Hampstead ... And Michael didn't appear; he was in another room ... His wife went on serving the sherry and nibbles, but Michael did not appear and didn't appear. And we got a bit hungry. Finally he emerged, looking totally exhausted, saying 'I'm terribly sorry to have kept you waiting but I've done it, I've done it!' – as though he'd been putting up a wardrobe or something. '*I know*,' he said, 'that the language is Greek.'

The following week at the Third Programme Talks Meeting, I rather timidly said 'I know the man who has deciphered the tablets from Knossos'. 'What do you mean?' said someone, 'They're indecipherable'. 'Oh no,' I said, 'I do assure you, this is IT. We must put him on.' And they trusted me and it was put on; it was the first public announcement of the decipherment ... It wasn't difficult to persuade [Ventris]. He thought [the radio] was the right place [to do it].¹

I start with this famous occasion for two main reasons. First it is a useful reminder of the centrality in British intellectual life at that time of BBC radio talks and discussions; they were mostly aired on what was then called the Third Programme

¹ Carpenter 1996: 114–15.

(the forerunner of Radio 3), and they were often reprinted in *The Listener* magazine. The idea now that a major academic breakthrough would be announced on the radio is almost unthinkable (perhaps the closest we have seen in recent years was the sensationalising television documentary which announced the ‘discovery’ of the bones of Richard III); but for Ventris this seemed ‘the right place’. To be sure, Ventris was an ‘outsider’ in the field, an amateur, and that may in part explain his enthusiasm for announcement in this form. But it is also clear that half a century ago – and in the world that Finley entered in 1954 – BBC radio was one important context of serious, specialised, academic debate.

On his arrival in the UK, Finley himself quickly became heavily involved in radio journalism, and much more heavily than most of his colleagues – even though many were making contributions on a more modest scale. These include not only those we would now *think* of as ‘popularisers’. Denys Page (Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1950–73) was amongst them; so too was Geoffrey Woodhead (the epigraphist, now seen – like Page – as an arch-conservative), J. M. Cook (Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology at Bristol, 1958–76) and John Boardman (Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford, 1978–94). In fact, in a letter preserved in the BBC archives, we even find Finley warning an enthusiastic producer in 1958 against trying to hire the venerable German historian of Roman religion, Kurt Latte – who was, he explained, ‘getting pretty old’.² The basic point is that it is impossible fully to understand the intellectual history of mid-twentieth-century Britain *without* thinking about these broadcast contributions – any more than it is possible to study the intellectual history of the mid-nineteenth century without considering what was written in the *Fortnightly Review* or the *Edinburgh Review*. The division between popular and specialised writing is not necessarily a particularly helpful one.

² 15 June 1958 (to Leonie Cohn), BBC Written Archives Centre, RCONTI, Sir Moses Finley, Talks, File 1.

Second, of course, the heroic story of Ventris and his appearance on the Third Programme is an important reminder of the enormous impact that the decipherment of Linear B had on the academic and wider cultural debate of the period, continuing ferociously until at least the late 1960s. This was not simply a question of whether the decipherment was correct or not. Much more important, and politically loaded, was a variety of questions that the decipherment energised, concerning (in the broadest terms) the relationship between language and culture. Put simply, if the scribes at Knossos wrote in Greek, did that mean they *were* Greek? What anyway did it mean to 'be Greek'? What was the relationship between the 'Greek' writers at Knossos and the 'Greek' writers at (say) Pylos or Mycenae, on the mainland? And what (for good measure) had all this to do with what used to be the earliest Greek writing we had, namely Homer? Finley, whose *World of Odysseus* had appeared in mid-1954, seemed ideally placed to write, broadcast and comment on all this.

In fact on 29 November 1956 he was approached by Prudence Smith, who asked him to participate in a Third Programme symposium – along with Sinclair Hood (then Director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens) and Denys Page – to be broadcast to mark the publication of Ventris and Chadwick's *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*: 'I write to ask', she explained, 'if you would contribute to this some reflections on the light which the decipherment of Linear B has thrown on Helladic society and institutions.'³ She wanted him to speak for 15 minutes, at the rate of a guinea (now £1.05) a minute. Finley agreed and the symposium was broadcast on 6 March 1957 (though it was not on this occasion reprinted in *The Listener*). According to the original script, Finley started characteristically: 'The most striking thing about Mycenaean society is that it was not Greek. Some members of the society spoke and wrote the Greek language ... But the civilization was not in any significant or proper sense that which we know as Greek. Like "English", the word "Greek" describes three

³ BBC Written Archives Centre, RCONTI, Sir Moses Finley, Talks, File 1.

different things: a language, a nationality, and a culture. The three may coincide and often they do'; but, he went on, they do not *always* do so.⁴

So far as I have been able to discover, this was Finley's first ever venture into journalism, whether print or broadcast, after his arrival in the UK. It heralded a lot more. Outside monographs and articles in specialist academic periodicals, he was active, especially over the late 1950s and through the 1960s, in writing and reviewing for radio, for daily papers and for weekly periodicals, from the *Spectator* and *New Statesman* to the *New York Review of Books*.

In this chapter I hope to provide an outline 'map' of this material, of its subject, range and quantity; for much of it, unlike the *Ancient Economy* or the *World of Odysseus*, is now little known or read. But I also want to pose some important questions that relate to it. I am interested both in the internal dynamic of Finley's journalism (Who is he doing it for, why and on what topics? And what to make of it all *as journalism?*), and in its place in Finley's intellectual history more generally (What is the relationship between this and what we think of Finley's mainstream output?). The next section will be concerned with his print journalism (focussing almost exclusively on his reviews, though he wrote more widely than that, from colour supplement features on ancient sites to pugnacious comment pieces on the future of Classics). The final two sections consider his broadcast pieces, focussing on radio rather than television (though, of course, the radio talks reprinted in *The Listener* straddle the categories of print and broadcast), ending with an unpublished 1963 radio interview, in which Finley reflected on his relationship, as an immigrant, to the United Kingdom. Part of this material was broadcast, along with material from other contributors, in a programme entitled 'Born Elsewhere'. It is an engaging interview, uncharacteristically personal and occasionally awkward; and it gives us a few hints of the self-mythologisation of Finley – a

⁴ BBC Written Archives Centre, 'The Great Decipherment', TLO 24937.

self-mythologisation which still hangs heavy over any attempt to write Finley's biography, intellectual or otherwise.

Bad Reviews and Good

The first thing to stress is the sheer *quantity* of Finley's literary reviewing, much of which does not yet find a place in his standard bibliography. At periods when he was producing relatively few academic 'outputs' (as we might now call them), he was writing some twenty to thirty thousand words a year in reviews, plus reprinted broadcasts. This was very much the pattern throughout the 1960s. Although he had already undertaken some reviewing in the United States, it was not until 1960 that he began again in the UK, with a few reviews in *The Spectator* (including a long essay of some two thousand words, entitled 'Serious History', which discussed a new reissue of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Mommsen's *History of Rome*, Syme's *Roman Revolution* and a new popular history by Michael Grant⁵). The intensity tails off in the early seventies. Finley's reviews certainly do not stop entirely, but they get much thinner (both in content and frequency) and they do not bulk so large in his writing profile. The last review he wrote for the *New York Review of Books*, for example, was in 1971, and in British periodicals he moved slightly 'down market': rather more in newspapers (such as his, not particularly impressive, piece on Pompeii in the *Observer Colour Supplement* in 1976) and rather less in serious weeklies.⁶

Two years, taken more or less at random, capture the overall character of this:

1961

* = not in the selective bibliography in Finley (1981) 312–18

() = original radio talk published in *The Listener*

(*The Listener* 26 January 61 'The Greeks: The Growth of the Polis')

⁵ *The Spectator* 7 October 1960.

⁶ *NYRB* 3 June 1971 'Ancient Technocrats'; *Observer* 21 November 1976, 'Disaster that Saved Pompeii'.

Mary Beard

- * *TLS*, 27 January 61 Review of A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law*
 - * *The Spectator* 10 February 1961 Review of P. G. Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods*
 - * (*The Listener* 30 March 1961 'The Future of Classical Scholarship', discussion with Wheeler, Boardman and Lloyd-Jones)
 - * *New Statesman*, 12 May 1961 Review of R. Maugham, *Slaves of Timbuktu*
 - * *New Statesman* 7 July 1961 Review of E. Doblhofer, *Voices in Stone*
 - * *New Statesman* 14 July 1961 Review of M. Pobé, *The Art of Roman Gaul* and J. Marcadé, *Roma Amor*
 - * *New Statesman* 25 August 1961 Review of R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*
 - * *New Statesman* 22 September 1961 Review of S. Piggott, *The Dawn of Civilisation*
 - * (*The Listener* 5 October 1961 'Athenian Demagogues, Part I')
 - * (*The Listener* 12 October 1961 'Athenian Demagogues, Part II')
 - * *New Statesman* 20 October 1961 Review of L. Mumford, *The City in History*
 - * *New Statesman* 3 November 1961 Review of L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*
 - * *New Statesman* 15 December 1961, Review of A. E. Housman, *Selected Prose*, ed. J. Carter
- Plus – *The Greeks* (BBC pamphlet developed from Third Programme series)

1964

- Horizon* Winter, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 5–17, 'The Year One'
- * *New Statesman* 28 February 1964 Review of H. Berve et al., *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines*, G. T. W. Hooker, *Parthenos and Parthenon*, H. Kähler, *Rome and her Empire*, Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, M. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*
- New York Review of Books* 5 March 1964 Review of H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*
- * *New Statesman* 10 April 1964 Review of J. Hawkes, *The World of the Past*, G. Daniel, *The Hungry Archaeologist in France*, A. Arribas, *The Iberians*, M. Guido, *Sardinia*.
 - * *New York Review of Books* 16 April 1964 Review of J. Alsop, *From the Silent Earth*

- * *New Statesman* 22 May 1964 Review of P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*
- * *New Statesman* 26 June 1964 Review of A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*
- New York Review of Books* 20 August 1964 Review of M. Goguel, *The Primitive Church*
- * *New Statesman* 21 August 1964 Review of J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, J. Heurgon, *Daily Life of the Etruscans*, H. Harrel-Courtès, *Etruscan Italy*, J. Gray, *The Canaanites*
- * *New Statesman* 18 September 1964 Review of *Meditations* of M. Aurelius (trans. Staniforth) and J. Burckhardt, *History of Greek Culture*
- * *New Statesman* 2 October 1964 Review of W. Taylour, *The Mycenaeans*, W. Keller, *The Bible as History in Pictures*, B. Mertz, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs*, M. Perlmann and Y. Yannai, *Historical Sites in Israel*
- * *New Statesman* 23 October 1964 Review of R. Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths* and E. A. Speiser, *The World History of the Jewish People*
- New York Review of Books* 5 November 1964 Review of A. Boethius, *Etruscan Culture, Land and People*, A. C. Vaughan, *Those Mysterious Etruscans*, Z. Mayani, *The Etruscans*, E. Richardson, *The Etruscans*
- (*The Listener* 3 December 1964 'Plato in Sicily')
- (*The Listener* 17 December 1964 'Plato and Athens')⁷

The basic point is surely obvious. In 1961 Finley published just a single academic note, of barely two pages (Finley 1961), in *Acta Antiqua* ('The Significance of Ancient Slavery', a reply to P. Oliva, in *Acta Antiqua* the previous year). That same year he wrote almost one substantial literary review per month, as well as producing three major radio talks, and participating in a radio symposium, which were all turned into print versions. The position is similar for 1964, a year in which his academic output amounted to just two succinct articles.⁸ Not that the division between the academic and non-academic writing was entirely rigid. The radio broadcasts, which were published in *The Listener* in 1961 as Parts 1 and 2 of 'Athenian Demagogues',

⁷ Note: The *Sunday Times* article 'Crisis in the Classics' republished in J. H. Plumb's *Crisis in the Humanities* (Finley 1964c), and listed in Finley 1981: 316 as 1964g, first appeared on 24 March 1963.

⁸ Finley 1964b, 1964j.

appeared in very similar form the following year in *Past and Present* – an interchange between journalism and the academy to which we shall return.⁹

The *range* of subject matter is also striking. The reviews and essays of 1961 and 1964 include some classic Finley subjects, but there is also a lot on Rome and Roman historiography, on ancient literature, on religion and repeatedly on archaeology and prehistory, Greek and indeed western Asiatic. Very often the ‘gaps’ that we think we identify in Finley’s published writing are at least partly filled by his journalism. So, for example, his Jewish interests are prominent in his less specialised writing, particularly but not only in the *New York Review*. He even wrote a comment piece (not a review) in 1965 on the Vatican Council draft declaration on Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion, and discussed the old ‘Homer or Moses’ debate in a review the year before.¹⁰ There are also several individual surprises. We would not immediately think of Finley as someone who would be writing about the unfinished autobiography of Gilbert Murray, on Maurice Bowra’s views on Pindar or the selected prose of A. E. Housman. All of which – and much more – he’s discussing in the 1960s.¹¹

This amounts to a very considerable career in literary journalism; and literary journalism implies patronage and commissioning. In Finley’s case, the key figure was without doubt Karl Miller. Miller (who was later to be Professor of English at University College London) was Literary Editor of *The Spectator* in 1960 from where – apparently on the suggestion of Denis Mack Smith (fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge 1947–62) – he commissioned Finley’s first literary review in this country (of the unfinished autobiography of Gilbert Murray). In 1961, Miller moved to the *New Statesman* and in a sense took Finley with him (as the reviews listed above illustrate). In

⁹ *The Listener* 5 October 1961 ‘Athenian Demagogues, Part I’; *The Listener* 12 December 1961 ‘Athenian Demagogues, Part II’; Finley 1962c.

¹⁰ *NYRB* 28 January 1965 ‘The Jews and the Death of Jesus’; *NYRB* 5 March 1964 ‘Christian Beginnings’.

¹¹ *The Spectator* 25 March 1960, review of G. Murray, *An Unfinished Autobiography*; *New Statesman* 9 April 1965, review of C. M. Bowra, *Pindar*; *New Statesman* 15 December 1961, review of A. E. Housman, *Selected Prose*.

1967 Miller became editor of *The Listener* and at that point Finley started reviewing in bulk for *that* magazine (rather than simply having his radio talks reprinted), while doing much less for the *New Statesman*. Miller left *The Listener* in 1973, and did not found the *London Review of Books* until several years later. It may well be that this rupture in Miller's career, as well as Finley's no doubt increasing commitments in Cambridge, caused the tailing off in Finley's literary journalism. Miller was a key figure in another way too. For it was seeing the reviews commissioned by Miller in the *New Statesman* that prompted Bob Silvers to ask Finley to review for the *New York Review of Books*. That was to develop into a parallel story, with Finley writing almost twenty-five major reviews for Silvers between 1963 and 1971. At three to four thousand words each, the combined total amounts to a book length of writing.

The overall character of these reviews, their style and tone, is difficult to assess. A series of individual reviews is not necessarily best judged by being read end to end. But that it how posterity tends to do it – and reactions are likely to be uncomfortably conflicting (mine at least were, after a fortnight's solid diet of Finley's literary journalism). On the one hand, they are punchy and immediate and they bring back the *voice* of Finley to me much more clearly than his academic writing. There are perceptive *bon mots*, attacking any sloppy argument wherever he found it. 'Trivialization is a form of ideology', as he nicely quipped in a 1967 review of a clutch of books on fifth-century political culture; and in the *New Statesman* in 1962 he sharply attacked those who held a romantic view of Platonic political philosophy: 'Plato's programme is *paideia* by fiat, determined by and directed to universal and absolute truths to be administered with total inflexibility and ruthlessness. One cannot pick and choose to suit, converting Plato into a good chap who sometimes made shocking remarks.'¹² Those who knew him in person can still hear him say things of that kind and style.

On the other hand, Finley had much greater rhetorical flair for *criticism* than for *praise*. To put it bluntly, there is a

¹² *New Statesman* 20 April 1962, review of E. B. Castle, *Ancient Education and Today*.

disconcerting number of hatchet jobs in his journalistic repertoire. The hatchet comes down with vigour and force: 'much reading has been wasted on this derivative, persistently shallow, slightly pompous book. Much guesswork gets by as learning too, and not a small amount of plain error'. On reviewing Toynbee's *Hannibal's Legacy* Finley's comments were characteristically acerbic: 'Toynbee generates a feeling that the great mysteries are about to be unlocked. But when the door is finally opened, I see nothing but spooks and chimeras.'¹³ Sometimes such stringent criticism may have been well deserved. But sometimes he happily picked on some easy or unworthy target; and sometimes he seriously misrepresented his victim. On more than one occasion, for example, he sneered at A. N. Sherwin White, who had suggested that the Gospels could be seen as historical documents (as if they were like Thucydides, carped Finley). But that was not what Sherwin White meant at all. He was rightly pointing to the fact that the Gospels were important texts of the Roman imperial period, which simply because they were 'biblical' ancient historians tended to ignore. He was not for a minute saying the Gospels were the equivalent of Thucydides.¹⁴ And conversely – and maybe more uncomfortably – the great and the good sometimes seem to have escaped more lightly than they perhaps deserved. We do not, of course, know for sure what Finley really thought of Bowra's *Pindar*, though we can I think guess (aesthetic literary criticism was not usually Finley's favourite genre). His review of the book is, however, laudatory, as is his review of Bowra's *Primitive Song*. It is hard not to connect this in some way to the enthusiastic Foreword that Bowra had written to the revised edition of the *World of Odysseus*.¹⁵

¹³ *New Statesman* 31 August 1962, review of H. Muller, *Freedom in the Ancient World*; *New Statesman* 24 December 1965, review of A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*.

¹⁴ *NYRB* 28 January 1965, 'The Jews and the Death of Jesus'.

¹⁵ *New Statesman* 9 April 1965, review of C. M. Bowra, *Pindar*: 'Sir Maurice ... crowns 30 years of study and affection with this long illuminating guide'; *New Statesman* 6 April 1962, review of C. M. Bowra, *Primitive Song*; *The World of Odysseus* was first published in 1954 (Finley 1954), Bowra's Foreword first appears in the 1956 revised edition (Finley 1956).

More important, though, is the relationship between the journalism and Finley's more strictly academic output. Can we see something *different* in this material from the academic writing? Or can we see ideas germinating here? Can we see any way in which the journalism is driving the academic work, or was it merely parasitic on the other subjects he was exploring under a more academic rubric? There is no doubt, as I noted, that he was writing about topics and periods in these reviews that we miss in his mainstream bibliography. That was probably, in large part, a reactive process. I very much doubt that Finley was *asking* Karl Miller if he could review a history of Zoroastrianism, but he would have done it if sent to him. But that was not quite all there was to it.

In some cases, as I hinted with reference to 'Athenian Demagogues', the journalism and the academic production went hand in hand. 'Demagogues' started life as a lecture for the Hellenic Society, it was then submitted to *Past and Present*, subsequently slightly adapted to become a radio broadcast, was reprinted in the *Listener* and, the following year, actually appeared in *Past and Present*. There is a similar pattern with Finley's *The Ancient Greeks* (Finley 1963), which was actually an expanded version of his BBC pamphlet *The Greeks*, which had itself been based on radio broadcasts (some published in *The Listener*) by Finley and others. A cynical view of this would suggest that these were cases of strategic and economical recycling of material; we might better understand it as repeated attempts to try out and refine ideas in front of different audiences and readerships.

Occasionally, however, the reviews and other journalism seem to have anticipated what came much later in Finley's academic bibliography. So, for example, one of his most puzzling articles is his 'review-discussion' of ancient portraiture in *Arion* 1976 (Finley 1976a), entitled 'In lieblicher Bläue'. Where did this 'come from'? Finley was not best known as an art historian. It turns out that – though his mainstream academic publication touched little on this area – his interest in the problem of ancient portraiture went back to the mid-1960s, when he wrote a review in the *New Statesman* of Richter's *Portraits of*

the Greeks. Maybe even the reviewing commission from Karl Miller was one of the things that prompted his interest in the subject.¹⁶ We likewise get a glimpse of later themes in an unpublished 1963 radio discussion with Frank Kermode on the subject of ‘tradition’ and the ‘role of the past as a form of self-knowledge’. Here we come across, for the first time that I know of, reflections on the nature of Ancient History that are developed in his work in the later 1960s (in for example ‘Myth, Memory and History’, which itself also had a version as a radio broadcast as well as an article), and later in his *Use and Abuse of History*.¹⁷

But this introduces again Finley’s work for radio – on which I wish to raise the same basic questions.

Radio-Head?

In terms of quantity and range, Finley was doing much more work on the radio (and later television) than is usually recognised – and certainly much more than was ever published in *The Listener*. In fact, the BBC Written Archive includes numerous unpublished scripts of academically and intellectually significant broadcasts that have been almost entirely forgotten. I have already referred to Finley’s first transmission on ‘Documents in Mycenaean Greek’ in early 1957 (a couple of years before he was active in print journalism). This is soon followed in May 1957 with another unpublished discussion on Indo-European (and what difference the decipherment of Linear B made to Indo-European studies). It was chaired by Stuart Piggott, and included Finley alongside the maverick L. R. Palmer (who comes over, it has to be said, as quite dotty)

¹⁶ *New Statesman* 22 October 1965, review of G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Art of the Romans*, A. Godard, *The Art of Iran*. Other art reviews include *New Statesman* 19 February 1965, review of J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, J. Boardman, *Greek Art*, M. Wheeler, *Roman Art and Architecture*, E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*.

¹⁷ ‘Myth, Memory and History’ appeared in various guises: broadcast on the BBC Third Programme, 28 July 1965; a lecture to the Warburg Institute; in *The Listener* in two parts 23 September and 30 September 1965; in *History and Theory* that same year (Finley 1965d); in *Use and Abuse of History* (Finley 1975e).

and John Brough, the Sanskritist. It was broadcast more than 45 minutes, but the transcript includes the outcuts and is substantially longer.¹⁸ The flavour of the discussion is captured in Piggott's final question to Finley, asking for a summing up of his position.

Well now Finley you've been splendidly destructive during this discussion and I enjoyed it enormously, but I think if you could just sort of summarise briefly your position now as you see it, and then I shall ask Palmer to finish up by redefining his with perhaps modification.

Finley was of course arguing against the possibility of reconstructing the notional Primitive Indo-European society from its linguistic traces.

Well my position on this specific problem of Indo European society is essentially this, that when we see the Indo European speaking peoples – when we have any evidence at all, they've already become very widely dispersed from the Atlantic all the way into India, and that always historically, this kind of movement of peoples ... produces such enormous transformations in the social structure ... that in my opinion it is impossible and therefore futile to try to reconstruct what an original IE society was like ...

After quite a lot more like this, Piggott asks Palmer, whose main interest has been in trying just such a reconstruction: '... do you still feel unshaken?'. 'On the contrary,' says Palmer, 'most terribly battered'. But it turns out, as he goes on, that he has not actually changed his mind at all.

Through the early 1960s there were several broadcasts of this and other types, some reprinted in *The Listener*, some not. Following the series 'The Greeks', which eventually resulted in *The Ancient Greeks*, there was a particularly notable discussion (which was reprinted in *The Listener*),¹⁹ in which Finley, Boardman and Page debated the 'Future of Classical Scholarship' under the chairmanship of Mortimer Wheeler. They all basically agreed that Classics was a subject based on constant reinterpretation as much as new discovery.

¹⁸ 'The Indo-Europeans', broadcast on the BBC Third Programme, 28 July 1965; scripts on microfilm, BBC Written Archives Centre.

¹⁹ *The Listener* 30 March 1961, 'The Future of Classical Scholarship'.

WHEELER: Do we need new histories of the Greek achievement? Must we be forever rewriting Greek history against our contemporary background?

FINLEY: I think we must all the time ... A historian has to deal with the facts ... But it seems to me this is not the purpose of history nor what its interest is ... if one tries to understand how the Greeks lived in the fifth century, and how they fought, and why they fought or why they did not fight ... then the problem is not so much of assembling isolated facts, dates, and numbers, it is rather one of putting them together. It seems to me we can only put them together according to the kinds of questions we ask about them and the kinds of questions we ask must be the kinds that come up out of our own experience ...

WHEELER: Lloyd-Jones, would you look forward a little and say in what direction you think work should be concentrated ...?

These snippets again catch the style of the proceedings, as well as their overwhelming 'maleness' (once more, everyone is referred to by surname only). So far as I know there is not a single radio discussion in which Finley participated, on air at least, alongside a woman.

Among those broadcast but not published in print form, there are some rather more unexpected things, for which some version of a script survives. One memorable discussion was aired in 1963 on the subject of 'What is Civilisation?' between Richard Hoggart, Godfrey Lienhardt and Finley (again chaired by Piggott); predictably given the presence of Hoggart, literacy was one of the main themes.²⁰ In the same year, Finley gave a broadcast specifically for schools on Greek democracy. And as late as 1977, he was telling radio audiences why they should not believe all they read (or saw on television, in the famous *I, Claudius* dramatisation) about the emperor Claudius.

In the case of this radio material, it is easier to get a detailed sense of the infrastructure and the process of commissioning than it is for the print journalism (although most of the people involved are now dead, the BBC Written Archive more than makes up for that), and some of the discussion that lay behind the programmes takes us right back into Finley's contemporary thinking about the big questions. In the back room, even if not in front of the microphones, women *are* prominent. After

²⁰ 'What is Civilisation?' broadcast BBC Third Programme, 14 April 1963 (Script files, BBC Written Archives Centre), final part of eight-part series 'Ancient Civilisations'.

his first radio talk commissioned by Prudence Smith, Finley worked mainly with another producer, Leonie Cohn; she, in a sense, in the early 1960s at least, was the Karl Miller of his radio career. The letters between them document a highly productive, but combative, working relationship.

He was very clear to her early on, in 1957, that he did not really want himself to generate the subjects for these talks. 'Frankly,' he wrote, 'it is much easier to say Yes or No to invitations than to think things up'.²¹ And when he did, on one occasion, try to pitch an idea, it went horribly wrong. He proposed a talk on the 'Greek View of History', but over months and months of toing and froing, gloriously documented in their correspondence, what Finley was suggesting never satisfied Cohn, and she was frankly critical of his drafts. 'What I miss strongly is some definition of the modern conception of history against which one could measure the failure of the Greek historians which you so eloquently demonstrate', she wrote at one point. And later on, she told him that what he had submitted read like 'too much a lecture for history students' (at which he became slightly cross). Nonetheless, they tried out a recording of it, unscripted to try to give it some spontaneity – but neither of them liked the result and decided they would have to re-record (although, as Finley wrote, the idea was 'torture'). But it seems that they never quite got round to it, and, so far as I can discover, it was never broadcast. (To give you some idea of the richness of the documentation, and the intensity of the discussion of the content, there are some forty surviving letters between them on this programme alone – suggesting also that this was bulking large in Finley's activities at that time.)²²

²¹ 14 July 1957, BBC Written Archives Centre, RCONTI, Sir Moses Finley, Talks, File 1.

²² The correspondence spans most of 1958 (BBC Written Archives Centre, RCONTI, Sir Moses Finley, Talks, File 1); quotations from 5 May 1958; 30 June 1958 (cf. Finley to Cohn, 6 July 1958: 'I have put in a lot of time on this ... and I have incurred some expense. The scheme outlined in your letter is no longer what I had in mind, and much of it seems to me quite wrong substantively. If I am right in thinking that you now think the original plan was not a good one, there is no point in going on.')

Not that Finley always did what Cohn told him, by any means. When they were planning a slavery broadcast, Cohn wrote to him with youthful enthusiasm for Hannah Arendt, enclosing a copy of *The Human Condition*. It is ‘very interesting’, she insisted, ‘on this whole question of why the Greeks had slaves ... and I think she explains well why the Marxist interpretation of Greek slavery is so beside the point’. She received a gruff response, ‘I do not share the current fashionable adulation [for Arendt]. To put it bluntly, on the ancient world she is ludicrous ... full of howlers ... and generally pretentious. One example: she thinks Aristotle’s theory of slaves by nature was general Greek “public opinion”, when the simple fact – which she could have read in Aristotle himself if she read with a little care – is that he was struggling to put this view across against serious, and in the end decisive, opposition ... I certainly will not waste any of my 20 minutes on her.’²³

This is a very clear case where journalistic discussion overlaps directly with academic concerns – and produces a very straight answer to the question of what Finley thought of Arendt.

‘Born Elsewhere’

Only occasionally in any of his writing do we find much personal reflection by Finley. But the most extraordinary unpublished script in the BBC Written Archive offers exactly that. It is an interview with Finley for a programme broadcast in 1964 about Britons born abroad (full text, [Appendix](#)).²⁴ It is partly memorable for the awkwardness, even ‘shiftiness’, of Finley and the repeated misunderstandings between him and the experienced interviewer, Leslie Smith.²⁵ The interviewer

²³ 19 June 1959 (Cohn to Finley); 9 July 1959 (Finley to Cohn), BBC Written Archive, RCONTI, Sir Moses Finley, Talks, File 1.

²⁴ First broadcast 16 February 1964 (preliminary letters in BBC Written Archive, RCONTI, Sir Moses Finley, Talks, File 2).

²⁵ Leslie Smith conducted numerous BBC radio interviews during the 1950s and 1960s (his most famous being with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi). I am especially grateful to Alistair Smith for permission to reprint this interview.

says at one point (the script indicating that it was not to be broadcast), 'I notice every time you look away from me that you start to hesitate a little', and more than once he presses Finley in a direction that Finley is reluctant to follow. 'You're now a British citizen, are you proud of this ...?' he asks. The reply? 'This is ... this I find really impossible to answer, because I – I'm afraid I wouldn't find myself proud of being a citizen of any country.'

It is, however, also full of unexpected and quotidian detail about Finley's life in the early 1960s, about the newspapers he reads, the clothes he wears, the holidays he takes (he goes abroad about three times a year, he says, to somewhere warm) and the difference between the USA and the UK. The interviewer gives him an open opportunity to attack the British class system, on which Finley is rather carefully guarded: 'Class lines', says the interviewer, 'this surely is something that doesn't apply to your original country'. 'Well this is what Americans like to pretend,' says Finley, 'I don't believe it's true.'

There are some very funny interchanges too. Asked where he would live, if not the UK, Finley replies: 'I think Italy or Poland, which is an odd combination ... but I think it goes back to what I said ... that I'm a kind of Mediterranean manqué and don't ask why Poland, except that Poland is a Mediterranean country that got lost in a cold climate by mistake.'

At the very beginning, though, he gives an account of his first arrival in the UK in 1954, the first time he had been out of the US.

I arrived from France having crossed a miserable crossing in a channel steamer and the train ride which was in the dark from Dover to London on one of the oldest British Railways carriages ... my impression was 'this is like a caricature' ... damp, very dowdy, the train was late, got into London without a booking ... I wandered round in taxis with my wife for about three quarters of an hour before we could get a hotel room at all ... I was out just looking for a place to sleep.

I am not sure what we should make of this, but it contrasts very strikingly with the accounts of his first arrival in the letters to Geoffrey de Ste. Croix at the time, which are confident,

well organised and in truth slightly commanding.²⁶ They are quite different from the cliché of the refugee (true or not) that we recognise in that phrase ‘I was out just looking for a place to sleep’. Those words amount to an important warning for those of us who work on the career, impact and legacy of Finley. His journalism – both print and broadcast – offers a vivid picture of the man and the work, sometimes rather different from that offered by the more narrowly academic publications. We find a breadth of interests, incorporating art and archaeology, Roman and Near Eastern history, myth, the early church and philosophy; we find some first-rate and cutting one-liners (sometimes rather too cutting, perhaps), we find someone who can fit in with the clubbable, male, Oxbridge world (and with some of its most conservative characters).

But we also find more than a trace of Finley’s own self-mythologisation, to which we are all the heirs – and of which we may sometimes be the victims.²⁷

²⁶ Cambridge University Library papers of Sir Moses Finley, Add. 9607. Box 5. File B23. Letters from Finley to Ste. Croix:

24 October 1954, ‘We are looking forward very much to accepting your hospitality ... and we’ll let you know about our plans as quickly as we are able to fix them.’

2 December 1954, ‘In anticipation, I think it most likely we will take the 11.18 train on 7th Jan, which is supposed to arrive in Oxford 2.39.’

25 March 1955 (writing from New Jersey), ‘I have just written to Tony ... and told him I would divide up the questions, and assign to you, as an old conveyancer, the cost of living problems. For purposes of discussion, assume a gross income of 1500. What does that buy after taxes, in the way of housing, food and sundries?’

23 April 1955, ‘At the risk of becoming annoying and impertinent, I have one more question for you, very specific – can you say roughly what your food costs are, per week or month?’

21 July 1955, ‘What is the average price of an adequate blanket? And, if they exist, an infra-red broiler? (Please no research on this, just a quick enquiry in one shop.)’

30 July 1955, ‘Warning: we may yet wind up in a situation in which extra legs and hands will be useful and we won’t hesitate to call for them.’

²⁷ In writing this article, I am indebted to conversations with the late Karl Miller, and with Bob Silvers and William Harris; to Debbie Whittaker (especially for her explorations in the BBC Written Archives Centre, for tracking down the ‘Born Elsewhere’ transcript and for searching out copyright holders); to Dan Tompkins for his expertise in the young Finley; to the staff of the Finley Archive in Darwin College, Cambridge, the Manuscripts Room of the Cambridge University Library and the BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham; and to both Alistair Smith and the BBC for permission to quote from unpublished radio broadcasts and letters. Letters to and from Finley

Appendix

BORN ELSEWHERE, recorded 11 December 1963 (38 minutes)

Broadcast 16 February 1964

Originally transcribed from a Telediphone Recording from Talks/General Division. The Telediphone Unit was a transcribing department of the BBC using cylinder and other machines, which produced a typed transcript of (primarily) interview recordings. A recording could be ordered by a producer to be fed to the unit and after a few days would receive a typed copy.

NB FINLEY is incorrectly transcribed as 'Furley' throughout the interview, and corrected for this transcription, as are other minor spelling errors (some of which were corrected in manuscript by a second BBC hand). Whilst the fully transcribed script runs to more than twelve pages, the vast majority of it was edited out and the amount used in the broadcast programme was 4:35 mins.

Asterisks mark illegibility.

- SMITH Why did you first come to this country?
FINLEY I came because I was invited *** the point is that
 I *****. I was dismissed from Rutgers University in
 New Jersey at the end of 1952 because I got tangled up
 with one of the congressional committees and – er in the
 next year and a half discovered that I was unable to get
 any other academic post and by great good fortune I was
 invited to come and lecture at Oxford and Cambridge.
- SMITH It's all right, yes.
FINLEY Um and that was followed by invitations from both these
 places to come and take a permanent post, and so
 I came in September '55 as a lecturer at – at Cambridge.
- SMITH Was this your first visit to Britain?

(or their carbon copies) sometimes survive in more than one location. I have not cited every source, but even where I have not specifically referenced the Finley Papers in the Cambridge University Library, they can usually be found there, clearly organised by date; I am very grateful to the Master and Fellows of Darwin College, and to the University Library, for permission to quote from these. My warm (and sheepish) thanks go to the editors for tolerating my slowness in converting the paper from oral to published form; I have retained the basic structure of the original talk, while reflecting the comments at the conference, and further thought and reading.

Mary Beard

- FINLEY SMITH My first visit out of the United States, in fact.
I wonder if you would take your mind back to the time when you did first arrive here and tell me what your immediate impressions were?
- FINLEY That's easy. I arrived er – from France having crossed a miserable crossing on the Channel steamer, and – er the train ride which was in the dark from Dover to London in one of the oldest British Railways carriages, uh, my impression was – er 'this is like a caricature'.
- SMITH Like a caricature – in what way?
- FINLEY Well, damp, very dowdy, the train was late, er I got into London nearly midnight without a booking, I think this was on the 1st of October, wandered around in taxis with my wife for about three quarters of an hour before we could get any hotel room at all.
- SMITH Well now, apart from the train and apart from the weather and apart from the shortage of hotel accommodation, what did you first think of the people and of the reception you had?
- FINLEY Well the – that – the answer is that night there was no test [=? rest] at all, I mean I was just out looking for a place to sleep. The next day we came to Cambridge and I was met by the person who was responsible for my coming, and of course it was immediately a different world.
- SMITH A different world?
- FINLEY Yeah, he was you know, he'd gone to an enormous amount of trouble and he took us round Cambridge, we spent a couple of nights staying with him until we moved into some digs that we had for the – this was the first visit, this was not when I'd come to stay.
- SMITH How did it differ from what you'd expected?
- FINLEY Sorry, when I said 'different world' I meant 'different from the train ride'.
- SMITH Yes, I followed you, I followed you, but – er as a whole, the feeling that you had about the country, the feeling you had about the people, how did this differ from what you expected?
- FINLEY I don't think it did, er.

Finley's Journalism

- SMITH In that case, tell me quickly what did you expect?
- FINLEY Well, I don't know, it was – this is my trouble – er, this all happened very quickly at that point. Uh I'm afraid I was more involved in myself and my own simply job problems er, and I was so delighted at what looked like a possible break – um from well, at that point, looked like a pretty dismal situation in terms of ac – an academic career. Er – and anyway, I'm er – I like being a tourist, so that almost any place first shot I – I'm likely to enjoy, and result is this combination put me, I suspect, in a) a very uncritical mood and b) er – in a not-very-thinking mood at first. And then I became very quickly involved in – in what was a very different kind of lecturing situation from what I'd been brought up on and not large numbers of people whom I had known only as names and so forth, so that those first two months er would not be a test, I think.
- SMITH I'm going to suggest that you do something. I notice every time you look away from me that you start to hesitate a little.
- (STUDIO CHAT)
- SMITH Have you at any time considered seriously the question of naturalisation?
- FINLEY Oh, I've become naturalised.
- SMITH Oh, you became naturalised, now why did you become naturalised?
- FINLEY Well, simply because I now live here and – er – you know, this is my job. I've no intentions of changing it and therefore it seemed preposterous not to become naturalised.
- SMITH Do you feel at all nostalgic towards your original country?
- FINLEY Er – I'm a little reluctant to answer. Flatly no, which if I had to say yes or no, would be the right answer, er.
- SMITH Well, you don't have to say yes or no. In what way do you feel nostalgic towards your original country?
- FINLEY Well, I think – er – more accurately, I would probably be more *****, I'm nostalgic more about my – er sort of – youth than I am about the country.
- SMITH About your youth?

Mary Beard

FINLEY

Well, I'm sorry, I'm not all that old – er – but I – one does – as one does get older, one does look back upon this that and the other and you remember with pleasure all kinds of things and in that sense it's a kind of nostalgia. I think, well, one would like to see this place or that place again, which I could obviously if I simply went back. But – er – nostalgia in terms of – er – regretting having changed domicile and so on, I think the answer is quite flatly, no.

SMITH

What do you value most about this country?

FINLEY

Um – can I break this up? The – the difficulty with me is that I live in a very small part of this country, by which I don't mean that I live in Cambridge and don't get around, but I live in the academic world to a very large extent and – er – it is a closed world, and if you ask me what I most value about that – er well, then I would say quite clearly that, in Cambridge at least, I have a level of simply intellectual activity, which is what one is there for, which is very high, er – a respect for one's privacy, I use that word rather than, you know, intellectual freedom kind of thing, which is also very high. And though I wouldn't say it does not exist in the United States, there is much more – uh – administrative and other pressures in many universities in the United States, much more terror-making of curricula, much more setting fixed reading lists that everybody must follow, er, there's much more room for the, if I can use the old, an old American expression, the maverick – uh – in a place like Cambridge. Uh – once you're appointed, so to speak, people decide that this is your job, you get on with it with a minimum degree of interference at a high level. If I now go back to the country as a whole, um, I think the answer I would give is exactly that the thing that so many people object to, uh, the rather lackadaisical – er – lack of tension [=? attention] kind of approach, (PHLEGMATIC) which can be very annoying, when you want a meal and they say, 'sorry, it's past closing time', but which has enormous compensations if you've lived most of your life as I have, in New York City, where simply the tempo, the efficiency, uh, frays nerves very desperately.

Finley's Journalism

- SMITH Could I put the question to you again in a rather broader way, you're now a British citizen, are you proud of this?
- FINLEY This is – this I find really impossible to answer, because I – I'm afraid uh I wouldn't find myself proud of being a citizen of any country, I consider this pride, if you say, am I satisfied to be one, er, yes.
- SMITH But no particular feeling of pride?
- FINLEY Well, I suppose I, inevitably, I, you know, begin to follow cricket and Test matches and have the same reactions now that – er within limits – as a native would, as a native would have in such things as beating the Australians.
- SMITH I mean, do you go to the Continent at all?
- FINLEY I go two or three times a year if I can.
- SMITH Do people ever take up with you the question of your British nationality?
- FINLEY No, they assume it because I normally drive and – and er – always assumed I was British because there was a GB plate on the car and Cambridge address.
- SMITH What British newspapers do you read?
- FINLEY Uh – the Times and the local paper, that's really all I read in the way of newspapers regularly, and Sunday papers, the Observer and the Sunday Times.
- SMITH Do you read American newspapers ever?
- FINLEY No.
- SMITH Why?
- FINLEY Uh – life's too short to read so many newspapers, and – er though I miss a certain amount of local news and political news, I don't mind this.
- SMITH Where do you go on holiday?
- FINLEY That varies a fair amount, er, given a free choice I would always go to the Mediterranean, and I must be a Mediterranean manqué, er, I'm a little bit handicapped by the fact that we must go in August because my wife's a school teacher, and –
- SMITH Do you ever go on holiday in this country?
- FINLEY I haven't, except once the Edinburgh Festival.
- SMITH It doesn't appeal to you, the idea of spending your holiday here?
- FINLEY Er, it – it would, except that since I live here, er, I always like to go on holiday somewhere else, which is essential here, er, and it is a fact that I would like warm warm weather for holidays.

Mary Beard

- SMITH It's quite clear from what you tell me that you feel fully integrated into the academic community of which you are a member. How far is it true, however, that you feel also a fully integrated British citizen?
- FINLEY I – I think this is a little hard for me to answer, in – in a sense of course, I mean, I can really talk about how it looks to me, not how it looks to other people. Er, I would think reasonably well, er, I haven't a family here, and I suppose this makes er – somewhat, something of a difference – um – but now that I have become a – er subject, I have, you know, am prepared to become reasonably involved in such things as – as national, local politics, er I write for the weeklies, I broadcast a fair amount, er, which I don't particularly think of myself as an outsider er – even though I must remind myself in some, in some senses obviously I must be one.
- SMITH Now, of course, you move most of the time within your own circles, where you are known, but when you go around elsewhere, in the streets and the shops and on trains and so on, are you treated as a foreigner?
- FINLEY Only in the one respect that people occasionally say how nice it is to hear an American voice and something of this kind, otherwise, I should think not. Er – if I don't open my mouth, I wear, now my American clothes have worn out a little and I wear British clothes, er, I don't think there's any particular reason why anybody should suspect I am er – when I talk, it's perfectly obvious. But – in my own experience this has never – never come up, so to speak. I mean.
- SMITH You feel you're treated in exactly the same way as if you'd been born and bred in this country?
- FINLEY Well, my experience is very largely outside the academic world and schools, would be fundamentally railroads, hotels, restaurants, shops, and – um I have never really been in anything that strikes me as particularly difficult. I suppose, when we first came here there was something of a problem of communications, simply because there is, especially on the shopping level, there are some quite remarkable verbal distinctions, and – er one has to learn to say *butter*, er which I didn't when I first came here, but I would hardly take that very seriously.
- SMITH What did you say, marg or?

Finley's Journalism

- FINLEY No, butter, I can't do it very well anymore, but I have had difficulty going into a shop and trying to get butter because I don't pronounce the 't's er and one has to learn the difference between what in the United States is called cotton and here is called cotton wool. And there are cases when – when gestures fail you, cotton wool is one of them, try describing that with your hands.
- SMITH On the whole, this is a very trivial thing, however.
- FINLEY It's all trivial.
- SMITH You don't find, do you, that because people know you come from America, they expect you to spend a lot more money?
- FINLEY I've never had any evidence of this.
- SMITH You don't find, do you, that because you come from America, people who don't realise who you are, and what you're doing, slightly resent you?
- FINLEY Well, again, I can only say I've had no – no experience that I'm aware of but I must emphasise that I don't get out of the academic world that much, I mean, what would happen if I worked in a steel-mill in South Wales or something, or in a – in an office in Birmingham, I just simply don't – do not know.
- SMITH Now I wonder if you could tell me whether you have been able to make friendships, very close friendships, since you started living in this country, as close, let's say, as some of the friendships you had in former years.
- FINLEY I think the answer to that is no, but I has- hasten to qualify that by saying I think this is no, when you reach (hem) I'll start all over again. I think that when you reach the mid-forties, which I was when I came here, one doesn't anywhere tend to make other friendships quickly, and of the same intensity as friendships one has in the – when one is in one's teens or one's twenties, that is, I doubt if I had moved from one coast of the United States to the other the situation would have been in any serious way different from what the situation is now. Because I have what I consider a large number of good friends, but they're not, they cannot be, I think, in the same level as – as people I've known for thirty years.

Mary Beard

- SMITH Do you have in your mind a picture of a typically British person?
- FINLEY I don't believe it exists.
- SMITH You don't believe that there are certain national characteristics, certain national features that you would expect to find embodied in someone born and bred in this country?
- FINLEY I'm sure there are in – in a certain kind of way, national characteristics, but I think that – er they – they get broken up by occupational and class-lines very sharply.
- SMITH Er, class-lines, this surely in itself is – is something that doesn't apply to your original country?
- FINLEY Well, this is what Americans like to pretend, I don't believe this is true. Er – I think that the lines are different from what they are here, er – they – they are created in a different kind of way.
- SMITH What kind of way?
- FINLEY Well, they're created in the first instance by the fact that a very large part of this population in the United States is still, at least in the second generation, an immigrant population, retaining – um – residential and otherwise, all kinds of enclaves –
- SMITH Whereas in this country?
- FINLEY In this country, er, from my observation, there are two lines, there is a line about which I know really nothing from personal experience, er, of the old aristocracy establishment kind of line. The other is – is above all the public school Oxbridge educational kind of line, and this, any American who's here three days obviously catches simply from – speech and then in – in a very short period of time, he begins to see differences in reactions, and differences in attitudes, er which are very clear. I perhaps am a little bit more conscious of this than I might otherwise be simply because – I teach at the university, my wife teaches in a secondary modern school, and this to an American is aggravating.
- SMITH Which particular line would you place me in?
- FINLEY Go – on the basis of ten minutes' conversation?
- SMITH Thirty-five now.

Finley's Journalism

- FINLEY Thirty-five. I wouldn't, I don't think, except in the – in the – in er, now you'll tell me you weren't Oxbridge or public school, but I would still place you on that side of the line. I don't know whether you were Oxbridge and public school or not. Look er – lines, you know, aren't all that rigid and people cross them, er, there are colleagues of mine at Cambridge who – um – though they've been brought up, so to speak, on that side of the line, behave much more like people on the other side, but er – there is a distinction which I think cuts across national character to a very considerable extent.
- SMITH Suppose you met me in France, say, and I was an old friend of yours you were extremely fond of, I was still living in the States, and I said to you, 'Look here, I want very much to come and live in Britain', and you were very concerned about my future welfare, what would you feel it necessary to warn me about?
- FINLEY Sorry, I – I'm absolutely trapped by that question, um, nothing in particular.
- SMITH Suppose you knew me to be rather stupid?
- FINLEY And what kind of career were you following, being rather stupid?
- SMITH Well, I suppose I'd better not say an academic career, let's say a business one.
- FINLEY Er – would that make any more difference in this country than in France or in the United States? I doubt it.
- SMITH Suppose you knew me to be very brilliant.
- FINLEY You'd make more money if you went to the United States.
- SMITH Ah, but I'm assuming that I want to come and live here, would you advise me to be particularly careful about anything?
- FINLEY Well, whether this would make a difference in the business world, I just wouldn't know, er, if you were coming to attend a world I – I know, I don't think I'd perhaps warn you about – about much of anything.
- SMITH Suppose you knew me to be an animal-hater.
- FINLEY I am, pr(unint). I (unint) [i.e. unintelligible].
- SMITH Suppose you knew me to be Jewish?
- FINLEY I wouldn't think that makes very much difference in the academic world.

Mary Beard

- SMITH Ah, the academic world, but we're talking about the country as a whole.
- FINLEY I – you see, I'm in trouble here, er, my – I know what I read in the newspapers, um, that there is a measure of anti-Semitism in – in both thinking and behaviour here, undoubtedly true. How deep it runs, how far it affects, um, your jobs and – and so on, er I would really not have any basis for answering. I mean, it must have some effect, beyond just golf clubs, erm, but I – I'm afraid I have to pass on that one, because I would be talking simply from sort of rumour and hearsay and I don't know.
- SMITH Do you ever dream about the States?
- FINLEY I don't think so.
- SMITH Supposing you couldn't go back to the States and supposing you couldn't stay in this country, where would you choose to make your future?
- FINLEY And that is practically an impossible question because, um, I think if that were really the case, er, I'd have to be a straight beggars-can't-be-choosers kind of position – er.
- SMITH Supposing that you didn't have to be beggars-can't-be-choosers kind of position, what country from your knowledge of the countries would you choose?
- FINLEY Well, my knowledge of other countries is – is relatively weak. Um – my guess is that of the two countries – of the few countries that I've been in, which – which in fact isn't very many, for quite different reasons, as an academic, I think Italy or Poland which is a very odd combination and I wouldn't find it all that easy to descend [=? decide] in fact, but I think this goes back to what I said a long time ago, that I'm kind of a Mediterranean manqué, and don't ask why Poland except that Poland is a Mediterranean country that got lost in a cold climate by mistake.
- SMITH Thank you very much.
- (STUDIO CHAT)
- SMITH When you first came here, how far were you the centre of personal curiosity?
- FINLEY I think, on the whole, very little in the University. Um, at least as far as my colleagues were concerned, um I expect, perhaps less so among undergraduates, er, that's hard to judge I think, because undergradates tend to be – er least not shy, they look shy, they – they tend not to have too many questions and – um.

Finley's Journalism

- SMITH I feel you use the word 'shy' rather than polite, for example.
- FINLEY Well, they're very polite, er, but one can be polite and – and forthright and forthcoming, and they tend – this is – this is a statement about averages rather than exceptional individuals, to wait for you to make the first move rather than for them, after, they enjoy – er any relations outside of the formal relations of – of teaching, and if you make a first move, they'll come back er but they're very reluctant to ask what they would consider personal questions.
- SMITH Now, is that different from what you experienced in the States?
- FINLEY I think much more, er, I think here if we can talk about national character in the University world, er people tend to get on a personal basis much more quickly because this is er – to be a national habit in the sense that – that – er you meet an American and in five minutes he's likely to have told you about his job, his family, and ask you about yours, and then possibly even how much money are you earning, er, the kind of thing that isn't done here, and in my experience I had better qualify with American Universities, as far as the teacher is concerned has been only with big municipal universities, I'm not talking about, that's more with the large colleges and so forth, and that does tend to be a hurley-burley er – er with you know, the corridors are jammed and they're noisy and there is something of a kind of discipline problem that's unheard of here except in under-school level and – um they will be much more personal about themselves, much more than the –
- SMITH Can they connect the same for you?
- FINLEY Well, they would – they won't ask me about, wouldn't ask me about my private life, but were I an Englishman coming to the United States, I'd be fired with questions much more.
- SMITH Which do you yourself prefer now, this open forthright frankness and curiosity, or the greater reserve that you have here?

Mary Beard

- FINLEY Well, this is my, aggravating again, I wish we could sort of meet half way, er – er it is a pity, for example, that we have so much formal lecturing at Cambridge. I've nothing against formal lecture though it's er – becoming a kind of commonplace to say it's a bad thing but we have too much of it, and if you stop and try to invite comment, er you will very rarely get it if – if the audience is reasonably large, they're often in the habit of doing this.
- SMITH Now, you've used the word formal, would you say that formality is in fact er – a kind of national characteristic?
- FINLEY Well, if you look at Cambridge undergraduates in their dress and their behaviour among themselves, the answer is quite obviously no. And even out among senior people, one of the things that – that did, now that I think of it, astonish me and astonishes all my American friends when they come, is the fact that in the University, one is on a Christian name basis almost the minute one arrives. One had been told that this is not the British habit, that is not the case, as between junior and senior university people in the United States at all.
- SMITH I suppose it's not the case here either between junior and senior people.
- FINLEY It is in fact, for example in Cambridge in the college, except for one or two of the very senior people, really the old school. All fellows, including research fellows, as soon as they're in – well, inducted, go on a Christian name basis except when we come to meetings and then we get very formal and it's Mr and Dr this.
- SMITH And fundamentally, this is true in factories. Do you like this?
- FINLEY Er – I don't mind. I think on the whole probably I do like it. I like it er – particularly because it is accompanied here, there is a balance about this that by and large, it is accompanied by er – a certain amount of discipline so that um within – within a college, let's say, when it comes to college meetings which have to be in a sense more formal, there is business, some of it is important, a lot of it is trivial, er, it is easier to conduct business if it gets off this level a bit, and the

Finley's Journalism

same thing will be true at faculty boards and so forth, er, at that point, er, you know, seniority in terms of not title but experience or competence er – will be recognized, despite the fact that one is on this kind of – of Christian name basis.

SMITH It's sometimes said of us that we're a nation of hypocrites, do you think there's any truth in this?

FINLEY I wouldn't have thought any more than any other nation (you don't want me to make the rude joke that follows on this one).

SMITH Please.

FINLEY Well, the variation is that the English vice is in fact humbuggery not buggery, but there – I didn't think you'd want that particular (unint)

SMITH Er – can you hear us, Telediphone?
(STUDIO CHAT)

CHAPTER 9

FINLEY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

GEOFFREY LLOYD

The circumstances in which Finley chose voluntary exile rather than having to plead the Fifth Amendment before the McCarran committee (the Security Committee of the US Senate, the predecessor of the even more notorious McCarthy Committee, which was not abolished until 1977) are well known. When he came to the UK in 1954 he was invited to lecture at both Oxford and Cambridge, but he was offered and accepted a lectureship in the Classics Faculty in 1955 and a Fellowship at Jesus in 1957. The Master of that college at the time was the Regius Professor of Greek, Denys Page, a pretty reactionary figure both in academic politics and in general. But many of Page's generation had been sensitised to the problems that refugees faced, by their experience of helping Jews and left-wingers fleeing Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Page reacted positively, then, to the suggestion that came from A. H. M. Jones, then Professor of Ancient History, that Finley be offered a Fellowship at Jesus (Jones's own college). This was an act of generosity on Page's part, though whether he appreciated what a Trojan horse he had admitted is doubtful.

The very first courses of lectures Finley gave in Michaelmas term 1954 (before he was offered his lectureship in Classics) were to do with economic history. His lectures in the Classics Faculty were entitled 'The Economic History of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.'. The contents would have been well beyond Page's reach, but Page did recognise energy and imagination when he saw it. Extraordinary developments were to follow. Let me deal in turn first with the opening up of Classics, then Finley's contacts (this was the Cambridge of E. M. Forster's 'only connect'), his 'outreach' as it would

now be called, his teaching and his eventual acceptance of the Mastership of Darwin College. I shall end with some comments on his intellectual persona, for that was the key to his impact on Cambridge as well as further afield.

Finley came to Ancient History not from a traditional classical training, of course, but from law and sociology, but years acting as a general factotum for the Frankfurt School in exile in Columbia and writing reviews for the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* had provided him with a range of reading and understanding far beyond that of any of those who were currently teaching Ancient History in the UK with the sole exception of Arnaldo Momigliano.¹ In 1935 already Finley wrote a devastating critique of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, complaining of its narrow focus on points of detail in political and military history. That was a portent of things to come. For from the very beginning his Ancient History lectures introduced their audiences to writers that they had mostly never studied with any seriousness, and that included not just Weber and Marx, but also Veblen, Pareto, Talcot Parsons and Finley's own one-time senior colleague, Karl Polanyi. The subjects he covered in lectures included slavery (from 1959), tyranny and colonisation, Archaic Greece and the Near Eastern background, as well as, of course, the ancient economy and Greek and Roman political theory. It is true that Finley's lack of what was then the typical classicist's background (even in my generation we were expected to compose Greek and Latin verse) occasioned some pretty snooty reactions from the old guard in Cambridge, let alone in Oxford, who were quick to pick up false quantities and mock his pronunciation of Greek names.

In part because of his reputation as a maverick it took nine years for him to be promoted to Reader, though it should be noted that readerships were far less common then than they are nowadays. He got his promotion, eventually, in 1964, thanks largely to the strong support of Momigliano, who famously hailed him as 'the best living social historian of Greece and the

¹ For Finley's career in the 1930s and 1940s see [Chapter 2](#) in this volume and [Tompkins 2013](#); for Finley own relationship with Momigliano see [Chapter 10](#) in this volume.

one most prepared to face the methodological problems which social history implies'.² By the time Jones himself was due to retire in 1970, there was little doubt in most people's minds that Moses should, as indeed he did, succeed him as Professor.

In the early years Finley put up with the snide remarks of the traditionalists without showing too much irritation: he just got on with the business of inspiring the young. And so we come to some of his connections. I shall say a bit more later about his uneasy and ambivalent relationship with anthropology, but Finley's talent for the analysis of ancient society in the round, starting from his discussion of the *World of Odysseus*, won the admiration not just of Momigliano, but of both Edmund Leach and Jack Goody. Ancient History, Finley-style, the young learnt, was taken seriously by other disciplines.

And it was taken seriously in Europe too, especially France and Italy, but also Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia: that was connection number two. Already in 1965 Vidal-Naquet wrote a perceptive critique of Finley's work to that date in *Archives européennes de sociologie*, and it was primarily at Finley's instigation that Vidal-Naquet was invited to give a talk at the Cambridge Philological Society in 1968.³ This was the famous piece on the Black Hunter, which Vidal-Naquet himself said was absolutely central to his own development as an ancient historian. But that meeting of the Philological was attended by Leach among others, and the exchanges between him, Vidal-Naquet and Finley suggested to some of us in the audience that Ancient History had come of age, on the international stage indeed. The possibilities for a sociologically and anthropologically sophisticated study of ancient institutions, rituals, myths seemed boundless. Finley's connection with both Vernant and Vidal-Naquet was to the benefit of both sides and to the advantage of the stream of bright graduate students that Finley sent to study at the Centre Louis Gernet in Paris, notably the so-called three Richards, Winton, Gordon and Buxton,

² Momigliano 1975: 36.

³ Vidal-Naquet 1965, 1968.

but also the brilliant Simon Pembroke whose doctoral thesis was on matriarchy.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were also the period of Finley's inspiration of younger political historians and historians of ideas, John Dunn and Quentin Skinner foremost among them: here then is connection number three. Finley did not have to be directly involved in collaboration with their work to be influential on it (though he certainly was where the study of democracy and politics was concerned). He was at the centre of a lively group of those working in a variety of fields, bringing his incredible grasp of the issues to bear even when he was not immediately involved, a catalyst of some of the best work across the board in the humanities. When at the end of his Inaugural Lecture on the Ancestral Constitution in 1971 he comments that 'without straining ... I have today invoked by name 25 Cambridge men', they included both Dunn and Skinner, even though he went on to note that some were 'admittedly too young to qualify as proper ancestors'.⁴ When one thinks of how little attention had generally been paid by other disciplines to Classics before his arrival, how Classics was seen as dry and dust philology in the tradition of Housman, the transformation that Moses was principally responsible for engineering was breathtaking.

After his persecution in the USA and exile from there, he made a conscious decision not to involve himself directly in national politics in his adoptive country, though that did not stop him from commenting, as a historian, on aspects of political issues both in the USA and the UK, as he did repeatedly in his works on slavery and in his discussion of the topic of the ancestral constitution in his Inaugural just mentioned. But a certain disengagement with contemporary politics left him, one might say, with all the more time for politics with a small p, both with academic politics and with the politics of the curriculum in secondary schools. Where the first was concerned, he served more or less continuously on the Faculty Board of

⁴ Finley 1971c: 57 = 1975e: 59. On the non-Cambridge intellectual background to this lecture see Tompkins 2014.

Classics from 1963 until his retirement during a period when the Classics Tripos underwent a series of reforms (though final-year students who specialised in Ancient History were still expected to have mastered the broad sweep of both Greek and Roman history in their entirety). Finley also played an active role in the debates that led to the abolition of Latin as a compulsory qualification for all undergraduates, for he was certainly alert to the negative impression of Classics that this projected to the university as a whole. The abolition of compulsory composition in Greek and Latin for Classics students was another battle Finley fought and won – against the teeth of the opposition of Denys Page for one. Finley knew very well that if the reformers took their eye off the ball, Page would mount a rearguard action, and indeed he brought the issue back to the Faculty and the Faculty Board time and again, hoping for a reversal of their majority recommendations for abolition.

Then so far as his interest in Classics in secondary education goes, he was instrumental in founding the Joint Association of Classical Teachers, designed to promote Classics teaching in secondary schools.⁵ Alasdair McIntyre was, as I recall, invited to attend the founding meeting of the Association in 1963 and did so, proving to be an important ally. McIntyre certainly expressed in very strong terms his sense that Classics should not be marginalised, let alone allowed to die out, a view strongly echoed by, among others, Bernard Williams. That Association certainly galvanised school teachers to stand up for their subject. Their morale and that of the students they sent to Cambridge improved dramatically.

That morale was stimulated not just by Finley's organisational skills but especially by his writing, for in addition to the technical scholarly articles and books he wrote, there were those books that he explicitly directed at a more general audience, first of all his most famous book of all, the *World of Odysseus* (which antedates his arrival in the UK of

⁵ See [Chapter 7](#) in this volume.

course). The series he founded and published through Chatto & Windus too (Ancient Culture and Society) was designed, a bit optimistically, to be sure, to reach sixth formers. But they were (with some exceptions, naturally) a breath of fresh air for undergraduates. And his outreach as it would be called nowadays included radio broadcasts, reviews in the *Times Literary Supplement* and much else besides.⁶

From the beginning, Finley had a succession of brilliant graduate students. In some cases, I would say, they owed just about everything to Finley: in others he just gave them a push and they took off. But they all went through the exhilarating and terrifying experience of having Moses go through their drafts, demanding clarity, rigour, scholarship, intolerant of vagueness, insufficient proof, inadequate attention to the wider literature on the problems. I was never his student: but his vetting of my two contributions to his series was quite an experience. I was a bit tempted initially to go in for polemics, knocking copy as the advertisers say, directed at the existing literature, though truth to tell there was very little work on ancient science in any language at the time. But Moses warned me against that, and I soon realised he was right, though given his own polemics it was perhaps a little surprising that he gave me that advice.

Given his work with graduates, it was not altogether surprising that in 1976 he was elected to the Mastership of one of the new, exclusively graduate colleges, Darwin. He made it a condition of acceptance that Darwin should change its statutes to allow him to continue for three years beyond the normal retiring age of sixty-seven. But given his stature in the university both as an intellectual and as a mover and shaker, the Fellows were only too happy to agree. Yet several of his close friends, myself included, were rather taken aback at his decision, wondering how on earth he could keep up the pace of his research and writing when having to combine that with the responsibilities of running a college. But that was totally to underestimate him.

⁶ See [Chapter 8](#) in this volume.

His secret was organisation, apportioning different parts of his day to different tasks, so that having done what had to be done in college, he could go back home to Adams Road where most of his writing was done, often late into the night, fortified by whisky or gin (which he had learnt to drink neat in prohibition days: that was the only way to tell whether or not the stuff you were drinking would poison you, so he said). Of course administration was much lighter in those days, but when I reflect that he typed all his own correspondence and only had a very part-time secretary at Darwin to help with some of the administrative chores, the preparation of meetings and so on, I am still amazed at how he got things done. He founded weekly discussion groups in college, in the humanities, the sciences and the social sciences (they still meet throughout full term). He initiated the annual one-off Darwin lectures and was the inspiration for the Darwin celebratory workshop in 1983, which in turn led to the establishing of the Darwin College lecture series, exploring topics of fundamental interest across all disciplines. The series continues today and is a major factor both in bringing the college together and in contributing to the intellectual liveliness of the university.

It is true that when he and Mary suffered, as they each did, from occasional ill-health both during his mastership and afterwards, he naturally had to slow down. But his close contacts with graduate students and junior faculty were sustained pretty well right to the end of his life, while his scholarly productivity continued to be astonishing. During his mastership he published the edited collection *Studies in Roman Property* (Finley 1976c), which had been in the pipeline for some time, as well as his book on the Olympic Games (in the same year, co-authored with Harry Pleket). He edited his *Legacy of Greece: A New Appraisal* in 1981, and the collection of his own essays, *Economy and Society* was edited by Brent Shaw and Richard Saller also in that year. The year after he retired from the mastership, in 1983, he published his Wiles lectures as *Politics in the Ancient World*, and in that year he was invited by the Faculty to give the J. H. Gray lectures. This is a series specifically designed to tackle problems that fall outside the

normal topics of the Classics curriculum, and the lecturers almost always come from outside Cambridge. The invitation to Moses is testimony to the Faculty's perception both of the special range and importance of his work, and of his ability to address the wider issues. The book that stemmed from those lectures, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*, was duly published in 1985, the year before he died, and in retrospect can be seen as his final testimony to how he saw the roles and responsibilities of being a historian. I would note especially his insistence that the important questions to be addressed are not given but must be selected by the historian, and that he has a duty not to shirk the limitations of his evidence.

When Moses and Mary died, their bequest of money to found the Mary and Moses Finley Research Fellowship in Ancient History at Darwin meant that his sponsorship of the best young scholars working in that field has continued:⁷ indeed this covers not just research in the ancient Greco-Roman world, but more recently also the study of what in the college we call 'Finley studies', that is work that pursues his interests and follows his model in any of the subjects he opened up, but that is not limited to studies of Greco-Roman antiquity.

So much by way of some details of the public side of his career, but his reputation depended primarily to be sure on the quality of his scholarship. His outreach and his inspiration of younger scholars would have been impossible if he had not been the 'research-active' scholar that he was (to descend once again to the level of current jargon). So I shall turn now to my views of his intellectual legacy, since his reputation both in Cambridge and further afield hinges precisely on that.

It is obvious that on many of the subjects that Finley tackled, scholarship has now moved on: other contributors to this volume have much to say on that score. It would have been lamentable if that had not been the case. But the first and fundamental point to emphasise is that many of the topics he opened up had simply not been taught in departments of Ancient History before him. Within the broad fields of the

⁷ See Chapter 1 n. 4.

ancient economy, slavery, democracy, politics, the law, technology, historiography itself, his work pioneered new approaches. It was often explicitly exploratory, making no claims to definitiveness. But Finley seized the opportunities he saw, and created others himself, to put new topics on the agenda. The alienability of land, colonies, demagogues, censorship were all brought to the awareness of ancient historians, many of them for the very first time, all of them in a more telling fashion. He was a man of *kairos*.

Then there are certain lasting characteristics that run through much of his writings. One recurrent theme is the importance of studying the society as a whole. Another is, as noted, his awareness of the limitations of the evidence, which dictates the necessity for abstract models. A third is his concentration on focusing on the right questions, and a fourth his sense of the possibilities of comparison, with other ancient societies and with our situation today. That of course is where one of the most difficult problems lies, namely the conceptual framework within which comparison can be carried out. His *Ancient Economy* is a valiant attempt to find a vocabulary in which to discuss ancient markets, labour, pricing and so on, and though those topics would now be handled very differently, anyone doing so still needs to come to terms with his pioneering foray. Of course he was well aware that the term 'revolutions' has been used to cover a multitude of different types of social, political and intellectual changes that we should be crazy to assimilate to one another. Then 'myth' and 'democracy' and 'friendship' and 'slavery' are all terms that have to be deconstructed (how he would have hated that term) before they are fit for comparative use. But none of those difficulties deterred him. In the process, he made many enemies, attracted fair and unfair criticism in bucketfuls, and often came to be accused of arrogance, though he could and did respond, on occasion, with some pretty lethal polemic himself. He generally gave as good as he got, usually better.

One recurrent problem that I have relates to what I called his ambivalent attitudes towards anthropology. On the one hand he made effective use of Mauss already in the *World of Odysseus*

and what he learnt from Boas gets due recognition on many occasions. I recall that it was Boas rather than Malinowski that we talked about when we talked about anthropology: Moses thought that the British tendency to see Malinowski as the sole founding father of ethnographically oriented anthropology was seriously mistaken. But on the other hand he was quick to insist that the classical Greeks were not primitive, a theme that recurs so often in part no doubt because of his awareness of the controversy that surrounded others who had delved into anthropology to try to throw some light on the Greco-Roman world, the so-called but misnamed Cambridge school in particular. In his Jane Harrison lecture in 1972 he calls for a 'third discipline', which distinguishes his kind of Ancient History both from the study of modern industrial society on the one hand, and from the investigations of primitive cultures on the other. In his own words, 'Ideally we should create a third discipline, the comparative study of literate, post-primitive (if I may), pre-industrial, historical societies.'⁸ He exemplified what he had in mind with 'pre-Maoist China, pre-colonial India, medieval Europe, pre-revolutionary Russia, medieval Islam'. Yet that programme remained still-born, and Moses himself contributed little to most of those areas.

If we ask why, some parts of the answer are straightforward. There is the problem, first, of learning the languages, at least where Chinese, Sanskrit and Arabic are concerned. Then we have to record the lamentable state of scholarship at the time. Chinese studies were dominated by Joseph Needham, who did a marvellous pioneering job of putting Chinese science and more especially technology on the map, but whose ideas about bureaucratic feudalism or feudal bureaucracy were pretty naïve. Yet as Walter Scheidel pointed out to me, those difficulties could have been circumvented by initiating a collaborative exploration of that 'third discipline' that Finley called for. Indeed that is the case, though the problems resurface when one asks who there was at the time with whom he could have collaborated.

⁸ Finley 1975c: 119.

Two final comments on that: one could hardly have expected him to engage also in some of those other areas when he had devoted himself so effectively to studies of those of primary concern for the Greco-Roman world. But then secondly his worries about the studies of primitive societies now seem, to me at least, very old hat. Anthropology has moved on, beyond Leach and Goody indeed, to raise problems that concern our understanding of humans in society quite generally. This is not just a matter of the study of ritual and myth, but that of different notions of the person (for instance), of agency, of what in *Beyond Nature and Culture* Descola calls ‘physicality’ and ‘interiority’,⁹ of different life experiences and ways of being in the world. This is not a matter of cherry-picking some exotic practices and items of belief. It is rather to open up the study of the incredible variety of ideas that have been entertained on what it is to be human (for example), and of the practices that reveal attitudes to such, an issue that sooner or later just about every area of what we call the humanities has to address. That is way beyond what Finley himself would say he worked on, but it is continuous surely with what he himself was doing in *The World of Odysseus*.

It is all very well for me to say that in 2013, and to suggest that Ancient History needs to join forces with ethnography, and not just ethnography, but also with developmental and evolutionary psychology, with cognitive science, with linguistics and with philosophy. But then I learnt from Finley, as well as from my two other chief mentors, Edmund Leach and Eric Hobsbawm, and it is very possible, indeed likely, that I could never have said that but for my contact with him and the people around him whom he inspired – for he had that amazing gift of encouraging young scholars to go for the big questions and to treat them with the utmost seriousness.

⁹ Descola 2013.

CHAPTER 10

FINLEY AND OTHER SCHOLARS: THE CASE OF FINLEY AND MOMIGLIANO

PETER GARNSEY

Introduction

There were a lot of other scholars. Moses Finley was at the centre of a global network. And because of his background and abiding interest in law, politics, history and the social sciences, his contacts went well beyond the borders of Ancient History and Classics. This fact receives emphasis in a letter of assessment dated 5 December 1963, requested by Cambridge University in the context of the consideration of Finley for promotion to Reader. What makes the letter particularly interesting, and diverting, is that it was composed by an Oxford ancient historian of a traditional mould, Antony Andrewes.

‘Finley’s main concern’, writes Andrewes, ‘has been to let light in from other directions into what has often been a rather cloistered subject, and it is on his success in doing this that the case must rest.’ He goes on: ‘He is very widely read, not only in the ancient history of other lands than Greece and Rome, but also in anthropology, law, economics, and (I mean no controversial overtones) sociology; and he has a wide and vigorously conducted acquaintance with the practitioners of these subjects.’

How did Finley manage his network, how did he keep it going? There were three main dimensions to his activities, not really separable. They are: Finley as communicator, as host and as impresario, or entrepreneur.

The communicator: Finley nurtured his contacts by letter (there are fat archives), by telephone (his phone seldom rang more than once), by face-to-face meetings, by travel and by promoting scholarly exchange. Under the heading of scholarly exchange, I have in mind, in the first instance, his practice of

dispatching graduate students and younger colleagues to foreign parts to sit at the feet of friends and colleagues: I think of Michel Austin and 'the three Richards' (Buxton, Gordon, Winton) who spent time in Paris with Vernant, but more particularly, with Vidal-Naquet. I myself was sent off to East Berlin (!) for a conference at the Akademie der Wissenschaften, with Heinz Kreissig as my host. I was specifically instructed to meet up with Detlef Lotze of Jena, persona non grata of the regime: we conversed behind a pillar, out of sight – maybe.

Secondly, Finley the host: he held great parties, full of interesting people, from other areas of academia, or from outside it altogether. But in addition, and more seriously, he arranged colloquia, with Rumanians, Germans, Italians, French and so on. Foreign scholars, *seniores* and *juniores*, were invited and welcomed to Cambridge. This was the other side to his sending people abroad.

Third, Finley the impresario. He enjoyed organising projects and drawing people into them. One thinks, at one level, of the various seminars, in Cambridge and elsewhere, and the books arising from those seminars – which were something of a novelty in those days. Next there were the international conferences, including the Economic History Conferences, with an Ancient History component introduced and managed by him – until he passed on the baton to younger colleagues, who were thereby introduced to teams of international scholars. Then there were the individual volumes, such as the revamped *Legacy of Greece* (launched in 1972), and the book series that he edited, *Views and Controversies*, with Heffers, the first volume of which was his own *Slavery in Classical Antiquity* (1960); and the *Ancient Culture and Society* series with Chatto. People liked being asked to participate, they were impressed when they looked sideways and saw who else was taking part, and they appreciated the style and efficiency of the editor.

So how to tackle this subject of Finley and other scholars? Should I run through the list from A to Z? No. I opt for just M. M for Momigliano, Arnaldo Momigliano.

A preliminary comment is needed, and is unavoidable, on Moses's confrontational style, his capacity to fall out with

people. Sometimes a scorching review did the damage. But also he was apt to write off a whole approach to history or a brand of historical writing, and to do so in public. One thinks of the war he waged with the Mainz Academy over slavery, or his confrontation with the so-called modernists over the ancient economy. Then there was the outrageous attack on what he called the 'pseudo-histories of ancient cities', in which he singled out for special attention Peter Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* as the standard bearer. I remonstrated with him more than once about his polemicism: in response, he just grinned. He clearly enjoyed controversy; maybe he thought of it as creative, although it appeared to some of us sometimes to produce more heat than light.

On the other side, there is the Momigliano file to remind us (if a reminder were needed) that Finley was entirely capable of conducting civilised and friendly relationships with his peers over time. The correspondence with Tony Andrewes provides confirmation. Andrewes and Finley, as historians, were opposites, and they disagreed over particular issues, for example, the role of the assembly in Sparta, but they remained good friends. Within Cambridge, one thinks of the mutually beneficial partnership in scholarship between Finley and Kirk. (Naturally they sparred with each other at Faculty board meetings, but this was par for the course.) Kirk's *Songs of Homer* of 1962, in Finley's view, offered support for *The World of Odysseus* (1st edn 1954). At Finley's invitation, Kirk chose the essays for *The Language and Background of Homer*, of 1964, the second volume of the series *Views and Controversies*; and Kirk in his *Homer and the Oral Tradition* of 1976 thanks Finley, along with Page and Adam Parry, for help. They fell out later when Kirk's domestic situation changed.

Finley and Momigliano

Preliminaries

Obviously, I knew Finley better than Momigliano – or Momi, as he was known to some of us. I remember only one tête-à-tête

with him, and there may have been no others. I was sent down to UCL by my doctoral supervisor to meet him. He took me to a cafeteria, asked me three impossible questions about Roman history, looked at his watch and that was it. Was he genuinely seeking an explanation of Domitian's vine edict? Or was this a *viva voce*? Chissà!

Momigliano was four years older than Finley, and outlived him by a year (A.M.: 5 September 1908–1 September 1987; M.I.F.: 20 May 1912–23 June 1986). In terms of careers and connections in British academia Momigliano had more than a head start. Professor at Turin by 1936 at the age of twenty-eight, he took refuge in the UK in 1938. He was already Professor at UCL, following a Lectureship in Bristol, by the time Finley arrived, sixteen years later, in 1954. Momigliano had significant contacts in Oxford, especially at All Souls, where he had the status of Associate Member from 1954. This arrangement was probably brokered by Peter Fraser, who moved to All Souls in, precisely, 1954, and with whom Momigliano had been in close and friendly contact since 1948 or before. Momigliano also came to know Isaiah Berlin, a refugee from an earlier epoch (he arrived in 1921). Berlin held Fellowships at New College and All Souls. This was one connection that Momigliano and Finley were to share. The first meeting between the two of them took place in Berlin's Old Set at New College, which, it should be noted, Finley occupied for a term. The encounter is securely dated to 10 February 1955. On 10 February 1975, Finley wrote to Momigliano: 'It is exactly 20 years since we first met.' Incidentally, Berlin pops up again, in Momigliano's letter of congratulation for the Mastership of Darwin. He writes: 'It was in Berlin's Schloss at Paraggi, Genua, that I heard from B. Williams that the appointment was announced.'

That first meeting apart, it is unclear in these early years how far the two interacted. There are no letters surviving, as far as I know, from the period 1955 to 1962, and there are no more until 1964. One assumes that something, something amicable, had been going on between the two men. Momigliano, along with Andrewes, was consulted on the proposed Readership for

Finley, and his reply, though short (half a page), was favourable (but see below).

The New College connection was important for Finley from the first. Whereas there is an absence of letters between Momigliano and Finley, there is a plenitude between Finley and two fellows of New College. One was Andrewes, from 1953 Wykeham Professor of Greek History, the other Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, appointed to New College in July 1953. Finley and ‘Croicks’, as some of his students liked to call him (and he liked the name), had been in epistolary contact from April in the same year, while Finley was still in the USA and looking anxiously across the Atlantic for somewhere to go.

M.I.F. to Ste.C. (12.4.53): ‘I am most appreciative of your interest in my work ... The fact is that this is the first opportunity I have had to discuss my ideas on these matters with anybody. Literally, you are the first person who has raised significant questions of substance since I began to work on this project ... Would you let me know why you wrote in *Economica* that my presentation leaves much to be desired?’

Ste.C. to M.I.F. (16.4.53): ‘It would be a tragedy if you had to desert ancient history, especially as you clearly have exceptional qualifications as an economic and legal historian.’

Andrewes and Ste. Croix both encouraged Finley to take a position that was coming up at Christ Church. The case for Cambridge was put by A. H. M. Jones, ironically, an Oxonian with connections with both New College and All Souls (he had also taught Ste. Croix in London). Jones had moved from the chair in UCL to the Chair in Cambridge in 1951.

To sum up on the relation between Momigliano and Finley in the early phase, before the letters become available and regular: Momigliano begins as the senior partner in their relationship, in a position to support and befriend, and ready to do so. He had blazed a trail which Finley somewhat later followed, with how much practical assistance from Momigliano we cannot accurately gauge.

Finley had other friends, who were (I think we can assume) more closely involved in the promotion of Finley’s cause in Oxford – against the competing claims of Cambridge. Incidentally, even if Momigliano did not play a key role in the reception of Finley and

the launching of his career, later on we see the two men working in harmony to promote protégés, in England and the USA. The two *amici* worked together as *patroni*.

Source Material

For source material on the Momigliano–Finley relationship, I depend on their correspondence. This means that I have missed out on a good deal, because in addition to exchanging letters, they frequently telephoned, and from time to time met, mostly in London or in Cambridge. The letters are a very partial record of their relationship.

There survives a reasonably sizeable sheaf of letters, though they weigh in at far less than the correspondence between Finley and Ste. Croix. Ste. Croix wrote more often, and at greater length, than Momigliano. It is true that the Ste. Croix file (in the first decade of their relationship, at any rate) is filled out by letters from his first wife and daughter, who were close to the Finleys. Another consideration is that Momigliano was regularly on the move, and does not appear to have written much from abroad – though they do talk from time to time of keeping in touch while Momigliano is ‘on the other side’ (21 September 1982). And they must also have frequently caught up on the phone or in person. The letters span the period 30 January 1962 to 1 March 1986, three months before Finley’s death, that is to say, around a quarter of a century. It is likely that only a selection of their correspondence survives. As we’ve seen already, there is nothing between 1955 and 1962. When they do write, the answer often comes by return of post, though a letter did not always reach its destination fast, if one of them was travelling, usually Momigliano: after his retirement from UCL in 1975 he was more or less in constant motion between England, Italy and USA (Chicago).

Nature of Their Relationship: General

Their relationship was strikingly friendly. Both men could be prickly: Momigliano managed to fall out with two Camden Professors of Roman History, and did not get on with the

doyen of ancient historians in Italy, Mazzarino. Momigliano and Finley, however, are, consistently, mutually appreciative. Some critical remarks do pass between them (see below), but they were not meant to wound, and they apparently did not. They clearly saw themselves as firm allies and friends.

The Origin of their Friendship

I have already referred to their common status as refugees. Both needed in the first instance to be made to feel welcome, and then to be supported in their careers, and later on, to be appreciated. I have the impression that Momigliano was the less secure of the two, psychologically speaking, and that Finley managed his assimilation better. Or perhaps Momigliano was simply more open and frank-speaking. There is a letter of 20 September 1981 in which he makes an oblique reference to their common refugee status in an adopted land. This was in the context of a self-reflexive statement about his own status in the profession. A (missing) letter from Finley had evidently been complimentary in that regard. In reply, Momigliano writes:

About my position à l'intérieur de la confrérie, you are – and you know you are – too optimistic ... What has always surprised me is that, notwithstanding my structural isolation, I have done so well in practical terms. And for this one must be grateful to this impossible country, England.

Finley's letter in reply (24 September 1981) briefly defends himself against the charge of being over-optimistic.

Friendship on Display

How was their friendship shown? They are solicitous over each other's health. They praise each other's published work, projects, prizes, accolades (e.g. honorary degrees – Momigliano gets one from Cambridge in 1971, see the letter of 10 February 1971) and the Mastership of Darwin. Momigliano was often the first to hear of Moses's latest success. Not always: he was way behind the times over the Mastership, apparently because he had been in Chicago. On the other hand, there is a letter about

the knighthood dated two days before it was announced, that is, 30 December 1978. Momigliano had received an (honorary) knighthood five years earlier. A.M. to M.I.F.:

What the Maharal in Prague said to the Maharal in Padua when they met in the celestial Yeshiva this morning, after having read their copy of the Times (which contrary to tendentious information punctually appears in the heavenly edition) is anybody's guess. But in these untimely sub-lunar regions the news is bound to give much pleasure to those who have been watching your forthright, creative and immensely fertile activity on this side of the Atlantic. This is one of the rare cases in which a knighthood is meaningful. So, as they say, well done, Sir Moses.

Finley answers (3 January 1979): 'Mary says, and I agree, that it was worth a knighthood just to receive your letter, for which many thanks from both of us ...'.

Momigliano's humour is often, as here, exuberant: Finley compliments by means of a neat turn of phrase. This time, at least, Momigliano was not just having fun: he was reminding Finley (not for the first or last time, cf. 28 November 1975) of his distinguished Rabbinic ancestry: he was descended from the Great Rabbi Low himself (*floruit* second half of the sixteenth century). Finley did not take the bait. I'll come back later to Finley's attitude to Jewishness and what his friend thought of it.

Expressions of friendship reach a pinnacle with Momigliano's response to Finley's dedication to him of *The Use and Abuse of History* (1975e). The volume includes a paper (pp. 75–86) which is a revised version of a review essay of the *Terzo Contributo*, originally published in 1968 in *History and Theory* under the title 'The Historical Tradition: The Contributi of Arnaldo Momigliano'. Momigliano writes (7 February 1975): 'Well, I wanted to say that your dedication gave me a profound pleasure. So many things unite us, but this confirms what I have always felt about the quality of your friendship. I am most grateful.' We have Finley's response (10 February 1975): 'The pleasure and the gratitude are at least as much mine.' He goes on to recall their first meeting in Oxford, already alluded to. Seven years previously, Finley had sent him the original paper in advance of publication with the message: 'If there is anything incorrect or offensive in it,

I can still change it' (7 July 1968), to which Momigliano had replied (11 July 1968):

I have checked the facts of my life carefully, and you come out *magna cum laude*. You would have got the *summa*, if you had attributed the Theopompus to my blue period (Rome 1930–36) instead of rose period (Turin 1925–29). But perhaps we might take into account that you spotted a Piedmontese undertone in the Theopompus: it was in fact written in the clearer air of the Piedmontese mountains in August 1930.

The same letter (7 July 1968) is one of the few in the Momigliano–Finley archive which refers to Vidal-Naquet, with whom Finley was also on intimate terms over an extended period of time. But note that Finley says he has now 'abandoned all efforts to obtain personal information' from him. 'Personal information' includes up-to-date health bulletins. He goes on: 'In Rome he told me that his operation was scheduled for a specified date in June. Last month I learned from him more or less by accident that the surgery had in fact been postponed. Nothing since.'

In this period Moses was in closer touch with Vidal's pupils, such as François Hartog, than with Vidal himself.

Disagreements

They did sometimes disagree, unsurprisingly. The story begins, and ends, with Judaism. But before I go into that, and select items in between, a word should be said about their differences over the popularisation of Ancient History. Momigliano was troubled over the issue, and Finley was forced into defending himself. This emerges in letters dating from 1970. In fact seven years earlier Momigliano had registered his concerns, in a rather curious context, namely, in a letter to the Promotions Committee at Cambridge: His assessment, dated 5 December 1963, contains the following sentence, sandwiched between words of praise: 'There is clearly a certain danger of dispersion in the abundant activity of Mr. Finley; one can be of two opinions on the usefulness of discussing Ancient History in weekly papers and broadcasts.' When he raises the subject with

Finley, as I said, much later, he does so in a tentative way, as if it's a problem they share (21 January 1970):

Another problem which bothers me just as much as it must bother you, is this fashion of writing without producing the evidence. As I am writing myself two or three semi-popular pieces for Encyclopaedias and Handbooks, I am faced by the same situation. I suspect that we are making our readers more optimistic about the facts and about ourselves than they deserve to be.

The reply comes on 26 January 1970:

Of course I am all the time arguing with myself about what I spend so much time doing. In the end, I regularly persuade myself – and I trust it is not mere rationalization – that there are not many of us who have both the professional standards (even integrity) and the ability to write so that laymen can and will read, and that if we refuse, then the wrong people, who are always available, will be left with a total monopoly.

He illustrates with reference to archaeology, before coming to Sicily: 'I then despair at the "learned" reviews of my *Ancient Sicily* which are so busy bleating about the absence of footnotes they can't even bother to say what's in the book ...'. A swipe at Scullard in *JRS* follows: 'who has himself perpetrated with Maguiness a 4th ed of Stobart's *Grandeur* ... etc. The irony is that on Sicily I wanted to annotate properly, at least with regard to sources, but was flatly overruled by Mack Smith ...'. And he apologises for going on 'at such length'.

Now down to other issues, of more central concern, perhaps. Relatively early on, there was something of a skirmish over Finley's introduction to a cadet edition of Josephus, *Jewish War*, published in 1966. Momigliano was sent an early version. His response is one of the early letters in the file (5/6 August 1964). It begins: 'I have read your paper in the train. Needless to say, there is much in your Josephus which I like. Indeed on p.19 and elsewhere you seem to me to be very near the truth. But somehow all your account of Josephus seems to me a bit out of focus. This is what I am trying to explain in what follows.'

Pages of robust criticism follow. He winds up, 'I am writing from a hotel room and I have no library to check up even names. But I wanted to write because your paper was a

welcome stimulator.' I doubt if Finley appreciated being a welcome stimulator. In his reply of five days later, 11 August, he is briefly 'argumentative' (his word), but clearly is not spoiling for a fight. He even signs off with: 'I don't pretend any real competence on this subject, but must simply decide where to place my trust in what I have read.'

Momigliano was not finished yet. He returned to the fray on 24 August. But Finley had (almost) had enough; he writes on 27 August: 'It is neither impoliteness nor anything else, I hope, which now leads me to suggest that the correspondence has become too complicated, and needs to be carried the next stage in person. When are you back?' However, he cannot resist a final thrust:

But I think I should say one thing. I didn't hang Josephus as a historian, but as a person, which is quite another question. I thought my piece wasn't altogether out of balance when I said that we cannot trust Josephus when motives or immediate personal considerations are at stake, but that on narrative and institutions of his own day the situation is different. And if I was unfair in raising the *Historia Augusta*, you were no fairer in raising Thucydides.

After this episode, I see Finley developing a strategy of risk avoidance or reduction. The strategy is two-pronged: first, he never again gives Momigliano any of his drafts to read – instead, he sends him the finished product. This is striking, because Finley was not at all averse to sending out his drafts. P. A. Brunt was a preferred reader, and, as others have experienced, was extremely generous with his time, sending Finley back reams of comments on questions of Roman history, and, for that matter, on the ancient economy.

The second prong of Moses's strategy was to present himself as a promoter of Momigliano's special interests, and a manager, or even a kind of agent, in dealing with publishers. This was a shrewd move, because Finley had a way with publishers, whereas Momigliano did not, while being sensitive to the relative shortage of monographs in his list of publications. And in the process Finley seems to be carefully marking off Momigliano territory. This happens in two main areas: historiography and Judaism.

Moses had himself made early ventures into the field of historiography: there's *The Greek Historians: The Essence of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Polybius* (of 1959), not to mention *Josephus* (1966), an essay on Thucydides in 1967, and later, in 1972, the introduction to the translation of Thucydides by Rex Warner. But in that same year, 1972, he writes: 'Dear Arnaldo, I have rashly undertaken to edit a new *Legacy of Greece* for OUP, and I hope I can persuade you to take on [chapter 6](#), in 12,500 words. It is blatantly obvious that no other chapter selects its author with such a loud, clear voice.' The chapter in question was 'History and Biography'.

It takes a little time for this strategy to evolve. There was something of a false start in 1968, when Finley is found offering himself as a broker with Penguin in the production of a second and revised edition of Momigliano's *Studies in Historiography*, which had appeared with Weidenfeld & Nicolson in 1966. It was a false start in two ways: first, and crucially, the project was killed at the Penguin end, it is unclear why. But secondly, Finley did not hit the right note: he is interventionist, even bossy, as in the following:

Dear Arnaldo, I have now had time to look seriously at what changes might be advisable for the Penguin edition, and this is what I propose: I am quite confident that you ought to drop the articles on Creuzer, Historicism, and the *Historia Augusta*. I also have considerable doubts about Ancient History and the Antiquarian. ... In their places I propose the following ... [a list follows].

The letter ends: 'If you accept enough of these proposals, finally, I also suggest a new title should be found.' We do not have Momigliano's reply, but Finley's reply of 28 September 1968 to that reply begins:

It is awkward arguing with you about a prospective book of yours, but I really feel I must. I honestly cannot see the point to producing a collection, aimed at a fairly broad reading public, which excludes e.g. Herodotus, Grote and Gibbon, while including articles on topics which are rather esoteric even for university students.

Curiously, it was in this same year, 1968, that Moses published his review essay on Momigliano's contribution in the realm of

historiography and the historical tradition, which is largely a collection of quotations from Mom's work and is totally and fulsomely approving.

By the time *The Legacy of Greece* comes over the horizon, in 1972, Finley has arrived at a more balanced approach. Finley *qua* editor can get away with a certain amount of correcting of Momigliano's text; but there is nothing like the bullying that he indulged in four years earlier. He is, it is true, quite stern in the matter of bibliography. He tries several times to get Momigliano to whittle down his book list, reminding him that the book is aimed at a wide readership rather than a narrow community of scholars. But, again, as editor he was entitled, as it were, to do that.

Finley in fact commissioned two chapters from Momigliano for *The Legacy of Greece*: [chapter 6](#), 'History and Biography', and [chapter 11](#), 'Greek Culture and the Jews'.

Three years later he tried to get Momigliano to write a book on Judaism and Hellenism for his Ancient Culture and Society series. After the Josephus experience, Finley seems to have resolved to have nothing more to do with the Jews, and to leave it to the expert. But he still has opinions about what kind of book should be written by the expert. On 27 November 1975, he writes:

Dear Arnaldo, Without wasting time on preliminaries, the question is, whether you can be persuaded to write a short book (40–50,000 words) for my Ancient Culture and Society series on The Jews among the Greeks and Romans. I put this to my publishers earlier this month, and the core of my letter to them was this: What I want is a book which will get away from the standard stuff about the Maccabees and the Jewish revolt of 66–7, and will deal with the subject as a unique, and historically significant, instance of the tension between one of the minority cultures of the Mediterranean world and the dominant cultures, first the Greek and then the Roman. A bit of narrative would be needed, but I see the heart of the book as the clash of cultures, all tied up with religion, empire and social conflict over a period of several hundred years – clash of course includes cultural diffusion and borrowing as well as hostility and conflict. The one man in the world who, everyone would agree, is the ideal author, is Momigliano.

Momigliano did not take it up. Probably the timing was not ideal: he had recently published *Alien Wisdom*.

So far I have been focussing on Finley's way of dealing with Momigliano. Let's now look at it from the Momigliano angle. He is usually complimentary about Finley's work, but the approval and/or appreciation sometimes comes with an edge. A letter of 21 January 1970 refers to the book on Archaic Greece:

Thank you so much for your letter, your book and your piece in the NYRB. Both the volume and the reviews gave me great pleasure. By lucky chance I was reading in the past days about Archaic Greece and therefore I read your book immediately. The book is entirely a success. The only pity is that you did not talk enough about the institutions of archaic Greece ... on which you are so good.

One might compare his reaction to *The Ancient Economy*. On 22 November 1973 he writes:

Your book was a welcome relief ... It will remain a classic statement of your position. It would be presumptuous to say more, except that it is already making a considerable impression on people outside our profession such as Maurice Freedman [the eminent anthropologist of China].

'It would be presumptuous to say more' carries the implication that this is Finley territory, on which Momigliano does not intend to trespass. In fact he does a bit of trespassing, if that is the word. (From another perspective, in *The Ancient Economy* Moses trespasses on *his* territory. And anyway, one may well ask, where are the borders in Ancient History? Some historians have more restricted interests than others, that's clear.) He goes on in the letter to make some critical comments, and two years later he published a review of *The Ancient Economy* in *PSI*.

In the same letter we read the following:

The fact that you are now passing on to imperialism [I'll come back to this remark] indicates that you yourself are facing what in this book, just as in the one on democracy, seems to be a weakness: the insufficient consideration of what military organization and war implied. It is, for instance, obvious that the real revolution of Augustus was the abolition for all practical purposes of the old connection between citizenship and military service, which in its turn opened the way to the transformation of the peasants into *coloni*; someone had to pay for the professional army.

There follows a venture into the economy, via Weber:

I feel also on good Weberian precedent you underrate one of the underlying principles of classical life: the emphasis on individual excellence without corresponding institutional organisation either to teach it or to impose it. No examination, no rigid corporation, and an implicit right to private life. ... The economy you describe corresponds to this ethics of disorganised and haphazard excellency which is the charm of classical societies. What I also wonder is whether in such a loose texture trade was not bound to assume a connecting function out of all proportions with the volume of the exchanges involved. But this is just to indicate my pleasure in reading you.

There are some searching criticisms here, but they are carefully packaged so as not to cause umbrage. It's not just the final *ciao un abbraccio*, but also the beginning: 'You yourself, Moses (he is saying), can appreciate that there is a significant omission in your book, or books, because you have now begun to appreciate the importance of imperialism as a subject.' There is an extra twist, here, in that Momigliano had suggested, in a letter composed almost four years earlier (21 January 1970), that a symposium on imperialism would be a good idea. Moses took it up with enthusiasm, while at the same time redefining the scope of such a symposium. Momigliano had had Roman imperialism in mind. Finley replies, on 26 January 1970: 'a symposium on Ancient Imperialism is a marvellous idea (Ancient not just Roman – the last word on Athenian hasn't been said yet)'.

In the letter of 3 February 1975 in which Momigliano announces that he has reviewed *The Ancient Economy*, there is again a sugaring of the pill. He writes that a seminar in Pisa on *The Ancient Economy* went on for four hours, and that animated discussion continued in the streets and squares of the city. He himself had brought the seminar to a close, with words which he subsequently wrote up as a review. Finley writes back:

One could happily (and perhaps ought to) retire on the note of having been discussed in the streets and squares of Pisa. Many thanks for having contributed to such an affair and for the copy of the *PSI* review. I must confess to some surprise at your first and last sentences, and perhaps we will have an opportunity to discuss them one day soon.

This is an evasion. Still, these exchanges are carried on in a good-humoured way: points are made, and, one supposes, registered, but no offence is meant or taken.

To conclude this brief survey of their disagreements and how they handled them, I return to the Jews.

Last Words

Finley's final work, *Classical Slavery*, a collection of essays commissioned and edited by him, was published posthumously. There was one addition not planned or foreseen by the editor, a brief essay by Momigliano entitled 'Moses Finley and Slavery: a Personal Note'. In it Momigliano observes that Finley neglected the part played by slaves in the intellectual and religious life of classical antiquity, confining himself to the situation of slaves in the society and the economy; more particularly, he did not use the Jewish evidence for slavery. This had the consequence, among other things, according to Momigliano, that what he had to say about Christian attitudes only scratched the surface. But his real complaint is much more serious: it was that Finley had betrayed his Jewish heritage. The crucial moment of decision – and Momigliano talks of the violence of the decision – was the name change: 'When Moses Finkelstein changed his name into Moses Finley a whole set of questions was almost entirely removed from the public side of his thinking.' What to say? I am out of my depth here. So I will speculate. Momigliano was letting slip feelings which had been present subcutaneously for some time. In the correspondence, he regularly alluded to Finley's background, but no response was forthcoming. The reason for his disengagement from Judaism – seen by Momigliano as outright rejection – lies in his upbringing within a liberal Jewish family in New York, upwardly mobile and seeking assimilation in a secular society. The name change? The circumstances are disputed.¹ Clearly, there were many Jewish families who were following a parallel track. Momigliano came from a different tradition, but does

¹ See [Chapter 2](#) n. 1.

not acknowledge the fact of difference. Every Jew, in his view, was in the same boat: 'The Passover ritual is basically a ritual of liberation from slavery. It makes any Jew conspicuous of having known slavery.'

So the Grand Alliance between the two was lacking at the spiritual level. This was a sick, sad, old man bemoaning the fact.

CHAPTER I I

FINLEY'S DEMOCRACY: A STUDY IN RECEPTION (AND NON-RECEPTION)

PAUL CARTLEDGE

in memoriam Anna Missiou (1943–2011)

I must begin briefly by ‘declaring an interest’, since I in effect succeeded Moses Finley (hereafter ‘MIF’) as a teaching member of the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge in October 1979.¹ Like him, I was more or less a rank outsider when I arrived.² MIF, now retired from teaching but still very active both pedagogically and otherwise academically as Master of Darwin College, could not have done more to make me feel welcome, indeed to make me feel that Cambridge was my home – intellectual and spiritual as well as merely geographical.³ In one particularly relevant way, my institutional succession was more direct even than that. When I came first to lecture on the history of political thought for Part I of the Cambridge Historical Tripos, Peter Garnsey presented me with two sets of lecture notes taken by two obviously brilliant graduate students on Finley’s original lectures for that course. That indeed is the ultimate origin of my own book on that subject (Cartledge 2009a, listed in [Appendix D](#), below).⁴ In fact, as

¹ That is to say, I took up the Lectureship in Classics that the university had permitted to be filled in order to replace Professor Sir Moses Finley, as he had by then become. His successor in the established Chair of Ancient History was John Crook.

² Oxford-educated as an undergraduate, I was a former doctoral pupil, not of any ancient historian, but of the classical archaeologist (Sir) John Boardman, and lacked a Cambridge college affiliation; I had spent the previous seven years teaching first in Ireland (both Northern and Southern) and then at Warwick University, very far indeed from the ‘golden triangle’ of ‘Loxbridge’ (London, Oxford and Cambridge).

³ I was honoured to take part in a Cambridge seminar series that led to what was, in everything but name, a seventieth-birthday *Festschrift* for him: my contribution was “‘Trade and Politics’ Revisited: Archaic Greece”, [Garnsey et al. 1983](#): 1–15.

⁴ For references in this chapter given in bold, please consult [Appendix D](#) rather than the Bibliography.

I reread *Democracy Ancient and Modern* (hereafter *DAM*) for the purpose ultimately of writing this paper, I kept getting an uncomfortable feeling that what I had thought were my own original views were actually Finley's – and not always those that he published in *DAM* or, a decade later, in *Politics in the Ancient World*,⁵ but those that he'd spun more conjecturally in his 'History of Political Thought' lectures.

Reception by Finley Himself

I have attempted to give an account elsewhere of the background, context and content of *DAM* in its original published form.⁶ Here I turn to an account of the book's reception – or should that be 'impact', to use a current cant term? MIF was a born communicator, always deeply concerned to make interdisciplinary and other connections and to advance his subject through broadcasts both written and oral directed to the widest possible publics. However, it was in part precisely because of this communicative aspect of all his work and of what I think he felt was *DAM*'s inadequate scholarly reception that it is necessary to start by pointing out some key differences between the original *DAM* of 1973, which contained just three chapters, based on the three original 1972 Rutgers lectures, and the second edition of 1985 (see [Appendix A](#)). By the latter date, only a year before his death, it had become a habit with him to republish essays of his in various forms in various different collections. But it was not only this habit but also, I would argue, a possibly retrospective sense that the original edition had lacked heft and weight that accounts for the issuing of a

⁵ Also based on a lecture series, the Wiles Lectures at the Queen's University Belfast: see Appendix B6. They are the subject of William Harris's contribution in [Harris 2013](#).

⁶ I was also very kindly invited to contribute to a parallel centennial celebration held at Columbia University in September 2012 and organised by Professor William Harris. Since I was invited to speak on roughly the same topic at both celebratory events, there is some inevitable overlap of content in the respective published versions of my seminar/conference papers, but I have attempted to minimise that, at the very helpful suggestion of the respective volume editors; the slight difference of title is designed to reflect the different emphases as well as to ease somewhat the task of future connoisseurs of *DAM*'s reception.

second, enhanced edition in 1985, which contained two additions: an article, 'Athenian Demagogues', originally published ten years earlier than the Rutgers lectures themselves, in 1962,⁷ and an essay on ancient censorship, originally also a lecture, that had already been published twice before – first in English, then in Italian – in 1977, that is four years after the publication of *DAM* edn 1.

The 'Athenian Demagogues' essay, by far the more powerful of the two additions, had originally been published in the journal *Past & Present*. Founded in 1952 and edited for many years by Trevor Aston of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, *Past & Present* was the vehicle of choice for many of the historians of the 'New Left' of the 1960s, joining forces with former members of the Communist Party of Great Britain's Historians Group, most of whom – but notoriously not including Eric Hobsbawm – had left the party following the suppression of the Hungarian uprising of 1956. 'Athenian demagogues' fitted rather snugly between the original first and second Rutgers lectures, being both an amplification and a deepening of one aspect of the initial position-setting argument. Here Finley fleshed out the opening chapter's theme of 'leaders and followers' from a specifically ancient Athenian democratic point of view. He emphasised two things: not only that the supposedly loftily statesmanlike Pericles was, *pace* Thucydides, every bit as much a down-and-dirty 'demagogue' as Cleon, but also – and more importantly, I think – that, given the nature of Athenian society, technological as well as spiritual, demagogues were as such a structurally indispensable element of the entire process (69) – not some unwanted carbuncle or worse kind of excrescence on the otherwise unblemished face of the democratic body politic. Here Finley returned, *con brio*, to his earlier theme of the 'almost intolerable insecurity' (26) of Athens's political leaders, lacking as they did the psychological buttressing of party (61–2). The selection of this psychological factor out of all the other possible supports that membership of a

⁷ This *Past & Present* article was itself based on a 1961 BBC Radio broadcast – see Beard pp. 156, 158, 161 above.

party and a party organisation can supply to a modern politician may (or may not) somehow be related ultimately to his first, Syracuse University, BA major of 1927 (for Finley's biography, see further [Appendix C](#), esp. Watson **C8**). (Note also what MIF says about the gains that accrued to Athens through empire in 'Democracy, Consensus and the National Interest', 86: 'the attraction of power as such, difficult to assess but none the less real for being psychological, immaterial, rather than financial'.)

The inclusion of the 'censorship' essay, however, rather upset the balance of the book as a whole, as it dealt with Roman as well as Greek 'censorship' (as Finley understood that term – to include the silencing of Socrates, say, as well as the burning of books) and is the least closely tied to the thought and argument of what has gone before. Here, reiterating the theoretical point that there was no ancient (Greek – or Roman) notion of an inalienable human right of freedom of speech, Finley interprets censorship almost metaphorically to mean not so much restrictions imposed on freedom of expression short of total suppression of personal liberty, but rather punishments such as ostracism or exile or, at the limit, death, punishments that shut you up by physically or politically destroying you – which is not quite what we usually understand by 'censorship' or the restriction or denial of 'free speech' today, perhaps, and which MIF rather dismissed as 'censorship in the narrow sense' and in antiquity 'merely an occasional off-stage diversion' (172). But then that too was grist to Finley's theoretical mill, underscoring as it did the underlying hypothesis that ancient Athenian/Greek *demokratia* was a very different animal indeed from any modern or contemporary version of 'democracy' ('the great divide', 27; cf. 23). On the other hand, the examples he gives of the official punishing in antiquity of religious cults for either menacing the community's safety or greatly offending public sentiment are mainly Roman, not Greek.

So what lay behind the additions of 1985? I suggest that they should be seen as above all a somewhat belated and probably somewhat irate response to the fact that *DAM* edn 1 had made relatively little impact on the reviews sections of the major

journals on either side of the Atlantic. I divide my further and remaining discussion of *DAM*'s reception or impact into two parts: i. more or less immediate reception by way of reviews and translations; and ii. subsequent and ongoing receptions.

Reception by Others

Reviews and Translations

Neither of the two leading UK journals, *JHS* and *CR*, for whatever reason managed to review the original edition, a quite astonishing omission, as it must now seem in retrospect, and not to be explained solely by the banal observation that, although *DAM* appeared in the same year as *The Ancient Economy*, it was emphatically for the latter, not the former, that Finley was awarded the UK's major annual award for history, the Wolfson Prize.⁸ Almost all of the reviews of *DAM* that did appear were very short and largely uninformative. Indeed, the most noteworthy aspect of them was that in the bulky and densely packed pages of *L'Année philologique*, the scholar's journal of record then as now, they were listed, not under 'Histoire grecque', but under 'Histoire sociale, économique, administrative ... Generalia'.⁹ However, no less noteworthy than the dearth of major reviews is the appearance as early as 1973 of an Italian translation.¹⁰ In fact, Italian scholarship, followed closely by French,¹¹ was probably always

⁸ *The Ancient Economy* was reviewed in *JHS*, and a collection of *Studies in Ancient Society* edited by MIF in 1974 that collected his 'Athenian Demagogues' (as noted in Appendix A) among other contributions to *Past & Present* was reviewed in *CR*.

⁹ One partial exception is the review by A. D. Momigliano, *New York Review of Books*, 16 October 1975, 36–8, but significantly Momigliano did not review only *DAM* but also *The Ancient Economy* and MIF's first historiographical collection, *The Use and Abuse of History* (Finley 1975e). See further below, n. 12.

¹⁰ *La democrazia degli antichi e degli moderni*, trans. G. di Benedetto and F. de Martino, was reissued in 1997 with a Postface by C. Ampolo. The original was reviewed by D. Lanza, *Belfagor* 29 (1974) 717–26, to which MIF felt constrained to reply with a letter, to which Lanza replied, in *Belfagor* 30 (Finley 1975a).

¹¹ *Démocratie antique et démocratie moderne*, trans. M. Alexandre (1976), was introduced by P. Vidal-Naquet's major essay, 'Tradition de la démocratie grecque'. Vidal-Naquet had long been a fan of MIF as a historian of ancient Greek economy and society: [Vidal-Naquet 1965](#).

more receptive to MIF than 'Anglo-Saxon' scholarship – among which I include German, although there was a somewhat belated 1980 German translation, of which I have failed to trace a single review.¹²

Subsequent and Ongoing Receptions

So far as its later and ongoing impact is concerned, I have listed in [Appendix D](#) in chronological order the thirty-five or so authors of texts that are derived from and/or influenced by *DAM* in either or both of its editions, or that share its concerns and goals; there are, no doubt, many more that I've overlooked. They may be divided for convenience into two categories, which I have imaginatively labelled *Alpha* (Classicists/Ancient Historians) and *Beta* (Political Theorists/Scientists, Historians/Anthropologists of Non-Greek Societies and Political Systems):

Alpha = Davies, Osborne 1985, Farrar, Vidal-Naquet 1990/1995, Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet, Hansen 1999, Rhodes, Samons, Hansen 2005, Woodruff, Herman 2006, Hansen 2006, Liddel, Mann, Raaflaub et al., Vlassopoulos, North, Morstein-Marx, PC, Osborne 2010, Herman 2011a, Missiou, Liddel 2009, Lane 2012

Beta = Sagan, Dunn 1992, 1993, Arblaster, Held, Manin, West, Nafissi, Goody, Saxenhouse, Rosenvallon, Wood, Gilligan and Richards

I have indicated briefly in the [Appendix](#) in most cases where and how Finley's *DAM* and/or other works of Finley have been received (or not). For the sake of this essay, I discuss in more detail just a couple of examples each of Group **Alpha** and of Group **Beta**.¹³

From the **Alpha** group it would be hard not to pull out the great Danish scholar Mogens Herman Hansen (either Hansen **1999** or **2005a**, rather than **2006c**), who is probably the

¹² *Antike und moderne Demokratie*, trans. E. Pack (Stuttgart, 1980), which carried also an 'Essay' (so labelled) by Momigliano. This is not to be confused with *Antike und moderne Demokratie: Ausgewählte Texte* (Stuttgart, 2004), ed. K. Stüwe and G. Weber, an excellent selection of readings with a very useful bibliography (MIF cited p. 420).

¹³ I must at least mention (without discussing) what I can only think of as the *chutzpah* of Samons **2004a**; see rather G. Herman **2011a**.

greatest living expert on the ancient Athenian democracy in all its aspects, but especially the institutional. Although Hansen does not deny that there were significant differences between ancient (Athenian) and modern (liberal) democracy, his emphasis or balance is very firmly the opposite of Finley's (or indeed mine). At least, it is insofar as Hansen insists that the general ideas or guiding principles of freedom and equality are not only no less those of ancient than of modern democracy, but also in pretty much the same senses too. Not even Hansen, of course, wants to over-assimilate or overidentify ancient and modern institutions of democracy in every respect (and it is to Hansen's great credit that he has always insisted on the fact that institutions do matter, and has gone to great lengths to show just how and why they do so). Yet I would say that even in this regard Hansen does go significantly too far in trying to minimise also the gulf in institutions. For instance, he fervently wants there to have existed an ancient 'State' (capital S) in something like a modern sense of that term, with all its implications for 'private', 'individual' 'rights' (all in scare quotes) that could be asserted against 'it', at any rate in democratic Athens.¹⁴

Also from within the **Alpha** group, I pull out a certain Osborne (R. G., not M. J.) – not the Osborne of **2010**, but rather his former incarnation of **1985**, as reincarnated in **2011**. At **1985**: 64–5, we find first the unexceptionable statement: 'Current notions of the nature of Athenian democracy owe much to the work and ideas of Moses Finley', but that segues into the condemnation and dismissal, as wholly inappropriate to Classical Athens, of '[t]his absurd model' of the 'face-to-face society'. That model, not originally devised to explain or illuminate a political entity such as the ancient Athenian democratic *polis*, was borrowed by MIF from a 1956 essay by Peter Laslett, one of the founders of the so-called Cambridge School of historians of political thought.¹⁵ That model is rejected by Osborne

¹⁴ Hansen 2002 was a rejoinder to the work of my own Israeli former PhD student, Moshe Berent, e.g. Berent 1996 (but Berent's preferred definition of the *polis* was 'stateless political community', not 'stateless society'). See further Cartledge 2009.

¹⁵ Laslett 1956. Later the author of *The World We Have Lost*, originally published in 1965 (3rd edn, Methuen, 1983), a pioneering study of post-mediaeval and pre-Industrial Revolution English family and community.

when it is applied, as Finley seems clearly to be doing, to 'Athens as a whole'; but Osborne does later make what seems to me a very significant concession, namely that 'it is of value in considering the nature of smaller groups' (89). His own pioneering 1985 work was devoted above all to the demes of Attica, and I have myself found that still to be of great value, even a quarter of a century later; and, as I remind my students, Greek *demo-kratia* could and sometimes even should be taken to mean *kratos* exercised by ordinary Athenians at the deme level as much as by the Demos centrally and communally, in the sense either of the People as a whole or of the mass/majority of them.

However, unlike the Osborne of 1985 and 2011, I do myself still find the model – and MIF himself would insist that it was 'just' a model, that is a heuristically useful simplification of more complex actuality¹⁶ – usable and useful. The Demos in the sense of the *politeuma* or legally empowered citizen body of 'the Athenians' never foregathered as such in one place, being exceptionally large – well over the 10,000 maximum recommended by Aristotle; in that sense, democratic Athens remained an 'imagined' community'.¹⁷ But when the citizens did foregather to take decisions as the Demos of 'the Athenians', all those present and voting were inter-visible, within sight of each other in a unified space, and in that crucial sense were acting collectively face-to-face – whether in an Assembly meeting held on the Pnyx, or in a law court, or in the Theatre of Dionysus. This 'narrowness of space' (a phrase MIF borrowed from Victor Ehrenberg, 50) helps explain why what we call 'face' – the honour/shame psycho-social complex – was such a vital concept and construct in the culture of ancient Athenian democracy.¹⁸

Under the **Beta** group, finally, I cannot resist singling out the venerable comparative anthropologist Jack Goody, formerly (until 1984) Cambridge's Wyse Professor. Not that he needs singling out by me; he has never been backward in coming

¹⁶ Finley 1985b.

¹⁷ Anderson 1991.

¹⁸ Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life* (Oxford 2016).

forward of his own volition. Once, long ago in the heady 1960s, he wrote about alphabetic literacy of the ancient Greek type in terms (he called it an ‘essentially democratic’ script) that would not have been unwelcome to the ears of the strongly anthropologically minded Finley.¹⁹ But more recently, in 2006, Goody accomplished a large U-turn, almost, I am tempted to say, in the service of political correctness. That is, aligning himself with those keen to reject what they take to be a Euro-American-centric vision of the cultural history of the universe, according to which (as Goody rather over-represents it) the West allegedly invented (or stole) everything, or at least anything that is worth being invented in the sense of worth still having today,²⁰ he launched a violent posthumous assault on Finley, twenty years after his death. Hence his strident negation: ‘The Greeks did not invent the practice of democracy’ (50).²¹ I note, though, Goody’s choice of ‘practice’; even he has to concede that it was indeed the Greeks who invented both the word and, at the very least, an original conceptualisation of it.

However, I end not with Goody but rather with French political philosopher Alain Badiou, author of a very different sort of *Polemics*, of which a reviewer has written: ‘What saddens and maddens Badiou is the political passivity of people in Western democracies, who smugly feel they’ve done their democratic duty if they put a mark on a ballot paper once every few years.’²² Shades, there, of MIF’s former student John Dunn’s *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future* (originally 1979), with its bracing likening of such feelings to the effects of the ancient Roman ‘saturnalia’ or the modern pharmaceutical ‘placebo’. Badiou was and I think probably still is some sort of Marxist, whereas Finley himself, at any rate in his second, UK life, claimed to be no more – but also no less – than an ‘anti-anti-Marxist’.²³ Yet Finley would surely find himself on the

¹⁹ Goody and Watt 1963, reprinted in Goody 1968: 27–68. See rather Missiou 2011b.

²⁰ Somewhat in the same vein, but more temperate, are Vlassopoulos 2007 and 2013.

²¹ See *contra* Vidal-Naquet 1996a.

²² Ivan Hewett, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 2012.

²³ The label was perhaps coined by Ernst Badian, but it was certainly accepted explicitly and publicly by MIF.

same page as Badiou, in this respect at least, as regards contemporary democracy or democracies. However, what 'impact' the views of either have had, are having or are likely to have on the real political world is another matter entirely. Not even the formidably numerate Walter Scheidel, probably, can accurately enough measure that.²⁴

Appendixes

A. Primary Text

- M. I. Finley *Democracy Ancient and Modern* (Chatto & Windus), 1st edn* 1973, 2nd edn** 1985 [dedicated 'To/My Friends and Students at Rutgers University, 1948–1952']
- ch. 1* 'Leaders and Followers'
- ch. 2** 'Athenian Demagogues' [originally *Past & Present* 21 (1962) 3–24, slightly revised here; first repr. in Finley (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Society* (Routledge 1974), then repr. again in P. J. Rhodes (ed.) *Athenian Democracy* (Edinburgh University Press 2004) – see [Appendix D](#), Rhodes 2004b]
- ch. 3* 'Democracy, Consensus and the National Interest'
- ch. 4* 'Socrates and After'
- ch. 5** 'Censorship in Classical Antiquity' [originally a lecture given at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, London, 6 July 1977, rev. publ. in *TLS*, 29 July 1977; 'Censura nell'antichità classica' *Belfagor* 32 (1977) 605–22, trans. F. de Martino]

²⁴ I was delighted to be invited to contribute to the M. I. Finley Centenary Seminar, held in the Cambridge Classics Faculty, on 29 May 2012, and co-organised by Robin Osborne, Michael Scott and my own former PhD student Daniel Jew. Between 2009/10 and 2012/13 I offered a Part II (final-year undergraduate) special subject lecture series for both Classicists and Historians entitled 'Ancient Greek Democracy – and its Legacies'. As a spin-off from that on 23 November 2009, also at Robin Osborne's invitation, I talked about *DAM* as my contribution to a series of in-house talks on books that both were in a strong sense Cambridge books and were ones that we might actually use for teaching purposes in Cambridge, and why. Here I revisit and revise that talk, paying more attention than I did then to the book's impact but still paying as much or more attention to my qualitative vision of its impact rather than to giving a full conspectus of reactions to it at the relevant time or times. Without Dan Tompkins's remarkable research (e.g. [Tompkins 2006, 2007](#)), my own would have been infinitely the poorer – and I know I speak for all Finley scholars in this regard; my parallel essay in the Columbia collection (above, n. 6) is dedicated to him.

B. Related Texts of MIF

1. *The Ancestral Constitution* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) [MIF's Cambridge Inaugural, repr. in his *UAH*]
2. *Aspects of Antiquity* (1968, new edn Penguin 1972, repr. with add. 1977) [ch. 5 'Socrates and Athens' 60–73; ch. 6 'Plato and Practical Politics' 74–87]
3. [*UAH*] *The Use and Abuse of History* (Chatto and Windus 1975, new edn Penguin 1986) [e.g. 'Anthropology and the Classics' (1972 lecture, rev.) at 112–15 (discussion esp. of literacy and citizenship as distinguishing properly 'political' societies')]
4. 'The Freedom of the Citizen in the Greek World' *Talanta* 7 (1975/6) 1–23 = B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller (eds) *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (Chatto & Windus 1981, repr. Penguin 1983) ch. 5
5. 'Politics' ch. 2.I, in Finley (ed.) *The Legacy of Ancient Greece: A New Appraisal* (Oxford University Press 1981) 22–36
6. [*PAW*] *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge University Press 1983 [based on 1980 Wiles Lectures] ch. 1 'State, Class and Power', ch. 2 'Authority and Patronage' [see *B7*], ch. 3 'Politics', ch. 4 'Popular Participation', ch. 5 'Political Issues and Conflict', ch. 6 'Ideology' [cf. *DAM* ch. 3]) [rev. Chr. Meier *Gnomon* 1986: 496–509]
7. *Authority and Legitimacy in the Classical City-State* (J. C. Jacobsen Memorial Lecture, Copenhagen 1982, published as pamphlet) 23 pp [rev. H. Pleket *Gnomon* 1983] [cf. esp. *PAW* ch. 2 and *DAM* ch. 3]

C. Biographical

1. MIF 'Class Struggles' *The Listener* 78 (1967) 201–2
2. Richard Winkler 'A Conversation with Sir Moses Finley' (1980, unpublished)
3. B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller 'Editors' Introduction' in Finley *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (Chatto & Windus 1981, US 1982, pbk 1983) ix–xxvi
4. P. Garnsey, obituary notice, Jesus College Cambridge, *Annual Report* for 1986
5. R. P. McCormick 'Sir Moses Finley' and J. Cargill 'A Memorial Address for Sir Moses Finley' both in *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* vol. 48 (Dec. 1986) 63–4, 65–74
6. Dick Whittaker 'Moses Finley 1912–1986' *Proc. British Academy* 94 (1997) 459–72

Finley's Democracy

7. Alain Bresson 'Moses Finley' in V. Sales (ed.) *Les historiens* (Armand Colin 2003)
8. G. Watson 'The Man from Syracuse' *The Sewanee Review* 112.1 (Winter 2004) 131–7
9. Wilfried Nippel 'Moses I. Finley (1912–1986)' in L. Raphael (ed.) *Klassiker der Geschichtswissenschaft* vol. 2: *Von Fernand Braudel bis Natalie Z. Davis* (Beck 2006) 63–76
10. D. Tompkins 'The World of Moses Finkelstein: The Year 1939 in M. I. Finley's Development as a Historian', in M. Meckler (ed.) *Classical Antiquity and the Politics of America: From George Washington to George Bush* (Baylor University Press 2006) ch. 7
11. D. Tompkins 'Moses Finley: From the American Archives' *The Darwinian* (Summer 2007) 1–2

D. Receptions

- 1978/1993** J. K. Davies *Democracy and Classical Greece* (Fontana) [282: 'The links between them [sc. 'the complex relationships linking social circumstances, political action, and ancient political theory'] and modern theory are treated by Finley' (*DAM* edn 1 and Finley *PAW*, 1983)]
- 1985** R. Osborne *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge University Press)
- 1988** C. Farrar *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens* (Cambridge University Press) [attempts to rebut, via a study of the fragments of the Abderites Democritus and Protagoras and of Thucydides, MIF's claim (e.g. *DAM* edn 1, 28, cf. 49) that there was no democratic 'theory' properly so called]
- 1989** J. Ober *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Identity and the Power of the People* (Princeton University Press) [14–17 MIF's engagement with elite theorists, cited by Lane 2012: 183 n. 10]
- 1990/1995** P. Vidal-Naquet *Politics Ancient and Modern* (Polity Press) [introduction, 2–3, refers to his 'Tradition de la démocratie grecque', which was PV-N's introduction to the 1976 French trans. of *DAM* edn 1]
- 1991** Eli Sagan *The Honey and the Hemlock: Democracy and Paranoia in Ancient Athens and Modern America* (Princeton University Press) [255 MIF 'one of the most important and influential ancient historians of this century' – ES a marxising non-specialist who, despite his subtitle, doesn't cite *DAM*]

- 1992** John Dunn 'Conclusion' in Dunn ed. *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey 508 BC to AD 1993* [sic] (Oxford University Press) 239–66 [bracingly comparative, though MIF is only an implied presence, not cited]
- 1993** J. Dunn *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future* (2nd edn, Cambridge University Press) [esp. ch. 1 'Democratic Theory'; 13, 15, 17 – a former pupil cites 'Athenian Demagogues', 'Freedom of the Citizen' (Appendix B4), and *DAM* both generally and on *isegoria*]
- 1994a** Anthony Arblaster *Democracy* (2nd edn, Open University Press) [Pt 1 'History' – follows *DAM*, e.g. on trial of Socrates]
- 1994b** J. T. Roberts *Athens on Trial: The Anti-Democratic Tradition in Western Thought* (Princeton University Press) [in a sense the entire book is a development of the other side of MIF's anti-elitist position]
- 1996a** P. Lévêque and P. Vidal-Naquet *Cleisthenes the Athenian: An Essay on the Representation of Space and Time in Greek Political Thought from the End of the Sixth Century to the Death of Plato* (Humanities Press) [French original 1964, rev. 1973], trans. & ed. D. Ames Curtis [this much enlarged English edition includes a debate with Cornelius Castoriadis, and esp. P. Vidal-Naquet 'Democracy: A Greek Invention' 102–18]
- 1996b** D. Held *Models of Democracy*, 2nd edn (Polity Press) [325 cites MIF **1983** as an authority on the participatory nature of Greek citizen politics]
- 1996c** H. Yunis *Taming Democracy: Models of Political Rhetoric in Classical Athens* (Cornell University Press) [at 24 n. 52 cites several works of MIF in approval of his rejection of the 'elitist tradition' of political theory and its views of Athenian democracy; at 30–1 defends 'face-to-face' notion versus Ober **1989**]
- 1997** B. Manin *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge University Press) [11 n. 4 cites *DAM* very generally on the use of the lot and on elections]
- 1999** M. H. Hansen *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (2nd edn, Bristol Classical Press) [this edition adds to the 1991 English translation (by J. Crook) a modified version of his 1997 article 'One Hundred and Sixty Theses about Athenian Democracy'; both editions of *DAM* are listed in the twenty-five-page Bibliography, but MHH's own works occupy two whole pages ... MIF would not be too keen on, e.g. either Thesis 6, p. 324, 'To counteract

- the prevailing tendency to focus on the differences between ancient Athenian *demokratia* and modern western democracy, I have emphasised similarities as well as the unquestionable differences'; or Thesis 17, p. 326, 'As a set of political ideals ancient *demokratia* resembles modern liberal democracy ...'; see also Hansen 2005a]
- 2003** P. J. Rhodes *Ancient Democracy and Modern Ideology* (Duckworth) [esp. ch. 4, but, given the date of his anthology, PJR discusses chiefly not *DAM* but Hansen versus Ober in ch. 6]
- 2004a** Loren J. Samons II *What's Wrong with Democracy? From Athenian Practice to American Worship* (California University Press) [LJS claims the 'classic' *DAM* among his own book's 'antecedents', xv–xvi, but MIF would have been appalled by this reactionary counterblast against what LJS sees as the immoral contemporary US 'religion' of democracy]
- 2004b** P. J. Rhodes (ed.) *Athenian Democracy* (Edinburgh University Press) [reprints 'Athenian Demagogues' (1962, *DAM* edn 2, ch. 2) 163–84, with a very brief introduction, 161]
- 2004c** Cornel West *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight against Imperialism* (Penguin pbk 2005) [dedicated to five teachers, including his Princeton PhD adviser Sheldon Wolin, 'the greatest theorist of democracy in our time'; he does not cite Finley, but his project is Finleyesque: 22 'the great dramatic battle of the twenty-first century is the dismantling of empire and the deepening of democracy'; and 'the first grand democratic experiment [was] in Athens', 68; but it is not at all clear that MIF would have agreed with CW's take on the 'fundamental mission of Socratic questioning', 30]
- 2005a** M. H. Hansen *The Tradition of Ancient Greek Democracy and its Importance for Modern Democracy* (Royal Danish Academy) [two studies, neither citing MIF]
- 2005b** M. Nafissi *Ancient Athens and Modern Ideology: Value, Theory and Evidence in Historical Sciences. Max Weber, Karl Polanyi and Moses Finley* (BICS Supp. 80) [only a couple of references to Finley 1983, not *DAM*, but is useful on MIF's intellectual background, esp. his lifetime engagement with Weber; rev. Tompkins *H&T* 47 (Feb. 2008) 123–36]
- 2005c** Paul Woodruff *First Democracy: The Challenge of an Ancient Idea* (Oxford University Press) [starts with his encounter with I. F. Stone; idiosyncratically written, e.g. his Martin Luther King-esque 'Call democracy a dream, if you will, but keep dreaming democracy', 17; cites *DAM* edn 2]

- 2006a** Jack Goody *The Theft of History* (Cambridge University Press)
- 2006b** G. Herman *Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens: A Social History* (Cambridge University Press) [100 approvingly attributes to MIF the view that the Athenians expressed ‘an extraordinarily humane sense of equity and responsibility’]
- 2006c** M. H. Hansen *POLIS: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State* (Oxford University Press) [cites both [Finley 1983](#) and ‘Politics’ (1981) (Appendix **B4** and **B5**), but not *DAM*]
- 2007a** P. Liddel *Civic Obligation and Individual Liberty in Ancient Athens* (Oxford University Press) [14–15, 34 praises MIF 1982 ‘Authority ...’ (App. **B.7**) for being one of very few to tackle the issue of the obligations of citizens *vis-à-vis* their liberties]
- 2007b** Christian Mann *Die Demagogen und das Volk: Zur politischen Kommunikation im Athen des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (*Klio, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, n.F. 13 [‘Die politische Elitentheorie und Finley’s Überlegungen zu den Demagogen’, 23–5, just the barest summary])
- 2007c** K. Raaflaub, J. Ober and R. Wallace with P. Cartledge and C. Farrar *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (California University Press) [a – very long – index entry ‘democracy, ancient and modern’; MIF is cited approvingly on Sparta, on freedom and (by PC) on face-to-faceness]
- 2007d** K. Vlassopoulos *Unthinking the Greek Polis* (Cambridge University Press) [disparages MIF’s notion that the Greeks ‘discovered’ democracy; cf. Goody **2006a**]
- 2008a** P. Rosenvallon *Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust* (Cambridge University Press) [based on his 2006 Cambridge Seeley Lectures, with introduction by G. Stedman Jones; ‘counter-democracy’ is defined as current notions of – representative – democracy enlarged by PR’s understanding of other, especially ancient Athenian, conceptions: see Index s.v. ‘Athens’, esp. 83ff. (including eighteenth-century reception of Athens), 195–202 (judicial system)]
- 2008b** E. M. Wood *Citizens to Lords: A Social History of Western Political Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Verso) [15 n. 14 defends MIF against an attack by Saxenhouse – in a review of *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (1980) – on him as a (mere) ‘social historian’ rather than ‘philosopher’]

- 2009a** P. Cartledge *Ancient Greek Political Thought in Practice* (Cambridge University Press) [dedicated to MIF and to Pierre Vidal-Naquet; MIF is hailed as a 'continuing role model as a public communicator far beyond the boundaries of the discipline of Classics and, indeed, of the university as an institution', xv]
- 2009b** C. Gilligan and D. Richards *The Deepening Darkness: Patriarchy, Resistance, and Democracy's Future* (Cambridge University Press) [explores perceived tensions between democracy and patriarchy from Gilgamesh and the Greeks to the present day, with special reference to the Romans; e.g. in a chapter entitled 'Roman Patriarchy and Violence', 22–52 compares Athenian free speech in the Assembly favourably to Roman control, despite Athens's greater patriarchal control of women, 32]
- 2009c** P. Liddel 'Democracy Ancient and Modern' in R. Balot (ed.) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought* (Wiley-Blackwell) 133–48 [*DAM* dubbed 'an important work', 148]
- 2009d** R. Morstein-Marx 'Political History' in A. Erskine (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient History* (Wiley-Blackwell) 99–111 [at 100 credits MIF with a 'Cambridge School' of 'social-scientific historians critical of the antiquarian methods of ancient (political) historians']
- 2009e** J. North 'Ancient History Today' in A. Erskine (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient History* (Wiley-Blackwell) 89–98 ['All history has to be rethought in the light of 1989', 94; at 93 MIF is included (along with Rostovtzeff, Momigliano and Vernant) among 'Some Pioneers']
- 2009f** J. Ober 'Can We Learn from Ancient Athenian Democracy? Historical and Modern Perspectives' in A. Chaniotis et al. (eds) *Applied Classics* (HABES 46, Stuttgart) 207–30 [MIF cited but not much used]
- 2010** R. Osborne 'Changing Visions of Democracy' in *Athens and Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge University Press) 1–24 [rev. version of RO's 2002 Cambridge Inaugural Lecture; esp. 4–12, showing how MIF built on and differed from A. H. M. Jones's model of Athenian democracy, leading into discussion of religion]
- 2011a** G. Herman 'The Problem of Moral Judgment in Modern Historical Writing on Ancient Greece' in Herman (ed.) *Stability and Crisis in the Athenian Democracy* (Franz Steiner) 45–66 [63–5 counterposes Finley 'Demagogues' to Samons **2004a**, to MIF's advantage]

- 2011b** A. Missiou *Literacy and Democracy in Fifth-Century Athens* (Cambridge University Press)
- 2011c** R. Osborne *The History Written on the Classical Body* (Cambridge University Press) [in 'Telling Bodies', at 217ff., restates his **1985** position on 'face-to-face'-ness]
- 2012a** A. Badiou *Polemics* (Verso)
- 2012b** M. Lane 'The Origin of the Statesman-Demagogue Distinction in and after Ancient Athens' *JHI* 73.2: 179–200 [181–3 on Finley; Finley 1962 'set parameters for scholarship on the topic ever since', 181; 183 MIF set against 'the elitist school' of Pareto, Mosca, Michels]
- 2013** C. Mossé 'The Demos's Participation in Decision-Making: Principles and Realities' in J. P. Arnason, K. Raaflaub and P. Wagner (eds) *The Greek Polis and the Invention of Democracy: A Politico-Cultural Transformation and its Interpretations* (Wiley-Blackwell) 260–73 [at 265 and n. 11 comments favourably on MIF's 'Athenian Demagogues' as reincorporated in *DAM* edn 2]

FINLEY AND THE ANCIENT ECONOMY

ALESSANDRO LAUNARO

Introduction

It is very difficult to overstate the impact of Finley's *The Ancient Economy*. This is certainly not a book that appeared overnight and, if anything, summed up a framework that Finley had been developing over decades.¹ But this emphasis is fully justified as no other of his contributions has been so widely referenced in debates about the 'ancient economy', cutting across not just Ancient History and classical archaeology, but also the social sciences in general.²

Originating in the Sather Classical Lectures delivered at Berkeley in January–February 1972 and subsequently published in 1973, it was followed, between 1974 and 1982, by no less than six translations (French, Italian, Spanish, German, Portuguese and Danish) and more than twenty reviews in at least five languages (English, French, German, Italian and Spanish).³ By 1983, even though his view of the ancient economy could be presented as a 'new orthodoxy', like any

¹ Nafissi 2005: 191–234 provides a comprehensive – if at times debatable: Tompkins 2008: 127–36 – presentation of the intellectual development of Finley leading to the publication of *The Ancient Economy*. See also relevant considerations in the overview sketched by Shaw and Saller 1981.

² Scheidel (this volume).

³ First English edition: Finley 1973b. Translations: Finley 1974d (French), 1974c (Italian), 1974b (Spanish), 1980d (German), 1980a (Portuguese) and 1982a (Danish). Reviews: Connor 1973/4, Casson 1974, Frederiksen 1975, Gunther 1974, Lear 1974, Oost 1974, Bradley 1975, Chambers 1975, Momigliano 1975, Moss 1975, Parke 1975, Skydsgaard 1975, Applebaum 1976, Pleket 1976, Oates 1982, Whittaker 1982 (English); Mossé 1974, Meillassoux 1982 (French); Burian 1974, Di Benedetto 1978 (= 1975), Kohns 1978, Günther 1979, Tusa 1974, Di Benedetto 1975 (=1978) (Italian); Fatás 1975 (Spanish). Please note that these references do not aim at providing a complete and definitive account of all translations and reviews of *The Ancient Economy*.

other orthodoxy it had elicited quite strong reactions among both ancient historians and classical archaeologists.⁴ Finley responded to such reactions by adding an entire new chapter (dated 1984) to the second edition of *The Ancient Economy* (published in 1985).⁵ Ten years later (1995) – and about twenty years after it had been first translated into French (1974) – an entire issue of the periodical *Annales* was devoted to *The Ancient Economy* and engaged with it as an unavoidable point of reference.⁶ This was not, by any means, an isolated case and a whole series of important contributions had already attested to the fact that it is ultimately easier to disagree with Finley than to dismiss him.⁷

It is therefore not surprising that *The Ancient Economy* was republished in 1999 (updated with an inspired foreword by Ian Morris) and was closely followed by two edited volumes by the same title.⁸ Furthermore, a recent reference work on the subject, *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, although programmatically framed within a theoretical perspective informed by Douglass North's position within the New Institutional Economics (NIE), did in fact refer back, in its introduction, to Finley's model and its further elaboration by Keith Hopkins.⁹ It is in this respect really remarkable that a most recent critique of North's views – by an economic historian of the modern period – in turn presented Finley's *Ancient Economy* as a much worthier and highly rewarding interpretive alternative.¹⁰

These introductory remarks are only meant to convey how daunting an endeavour is to trace the impact of a far-reaching

⁴ Hopkins 1983: xi–xii; also Mossé 1982.

⁵ Finley 1985c: 177–207.

⁶ *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 50.5 (1995) (especially Andreau 1995).

⁷ For example, a (multi-)issue of the Italian periodical *Opus* (6–8 [1987–9]) – significantly entitled *La cité antique? A partir de l'oeuvre de M. I. Finley* – critically engaged with one of the central themes (i.e. the 'ancient city') developed in *The Ancient Economy* (Finley 1973b: 123–49 = 1985c: 123–49; also Finley 1977b). Note that the very first issue of *Opus* (1 [1982]) had in fact opened with the proceedings of an *incontro* centred on a discussion of Finley 1980b.

⁸ Finley 1999; Scheidel and von Reden 2002; Manning and Morris 2005.

⁹ Morris, Saller and Scheidel 2007: 2–5.

¹⁰ Boldizzoni 2011: 31–9.

work as *The Ancient Economy*: for such an impact has not only spanned at least forty years of excellent scholarship, but already received such a considerable coverage and authoritative commentary as to make one feel like there is hardly anything left to say. Still, it shall be clear from what I have just said that *The Ancient Economy* is still informing – and significantly so – the way we frame our debates about the ancient world.¹¹ That being the case, I think it useful to trace the immanent presence of Finley’s ‘ancient economy’ in current scholarship, that is, ultimately, its impact on the present.

Framing the Ancient Economy

There is no present without a past and it is therefore important to remind ourselves of what was the nature of the debate Finley originally engaged with.¹² Since the closing years of the nineteenth century, scholars had hotly debated the nature of the ancient economy. The discussion had been sparked by the work of the economist Karl Bücher, who held the ancient world to have represented a primitive condition dominated by self-subsistence and non-market relationships (‘close household economy’), an earlier stage (*Stufe*) within a fundamentally linear economic evolution leading to modern European capitalism (‘primitivism’) (Fig. 5a).¹³ Such a proposition was met with the outraged reaction of one of the leading scholars of ancient Greece, Eduard Meyer: he not only opposed Bucker’s argument by pointing to the most remarkable achievements of ancient trade and manufacturing, but also challenged him with a completely different account of cyclical evolution (Fig. 5b), in which modern capitalism had already been prefigured in the heyday of Greece and Rome (‘modernism’).¹⁴ The ‘Bücher–Meyer controversy’ eventually turned into a broader debate between ‘primitivist’ and ‘modernist’ scholars.

¹¹ E.g., Temin 2013: 4.

¹² In general Morley 2004: 33–50; also Morris 1999.

¹³ Bücher 1893.

¹⁴ Meyer 1895.

By the mid-twentieth century, however, the monumental work by Mikhail Rostovtzeff had been instrumental in giving modernism a strong dominant position.¹⁵ His overall analysis made broad use of notions originally used to describe modern capitalism (e.g. *bourgeoisie*, proletariat, factories, mass production) and he programmatically employed them in order to produce a general interpretive framework to explain the rise and fall of both the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire. That such an interpretive stance was totally appropriate was suggested by the fact that those periods had already featured several significant characteristics of the modern world:

The creation of a uniform world-wide civilization and of similar social and economic conditions is now going before our eyes over the whole expanse of the civilized world. This process is complicated, and it is often difficult to clear up our minds about it. We ought therefore to keep in view that this condition in which we are living is not new, and that the ancient world also lived, for a series of centuries, a life which was uniform in culture and politics, in social and economic conditions. The modern development, in this sense, differs from the ancient only in quantity and not in quality.¹⁶

Apart from the fact that it did not take long for some scholars to point out that Rostovtzeff's use of the above notions was less precise and looser than one might have expected, it soon became clear that the fundamental tenet of his overall interpretation (i.e. a timeless struggle between an advanced and progressive urban elite and a backward and conservative rural multitude) was clearly influenced by a projection of his own personal political experiences in pre-revolutionary Russia.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the Russian scholar had managed to combine such an enormous amount of information of such varied a nature – integrating archaeological evidence for the very first time! – that his argument could not but acquire an incomparable interpretive edge over competing views.¹⁸

¹⁵ Rostovtzeff 1926a, 1926b, 1941, 1957. Saller 2002: 252–6 = 2005: 223–7 draws a thought-provoking comparison between the views of Rostovtzeff and Finley.

¹⁶ Rostovtzeff 1926a: vol. 1, 20.

¹⁷ Reinhold 1940: 363–72 = 2002: 83–90; Momigliano 1954: 341–3 = 1966: 99–101. More recently: Shaw 1992: 219–22.

¹⁸ 'All seemed, and indeed was, extraordinary in the book. Even the external appearance was unusual. We were accustomed to books on ancient history where the

Finley and the Ancient Economy

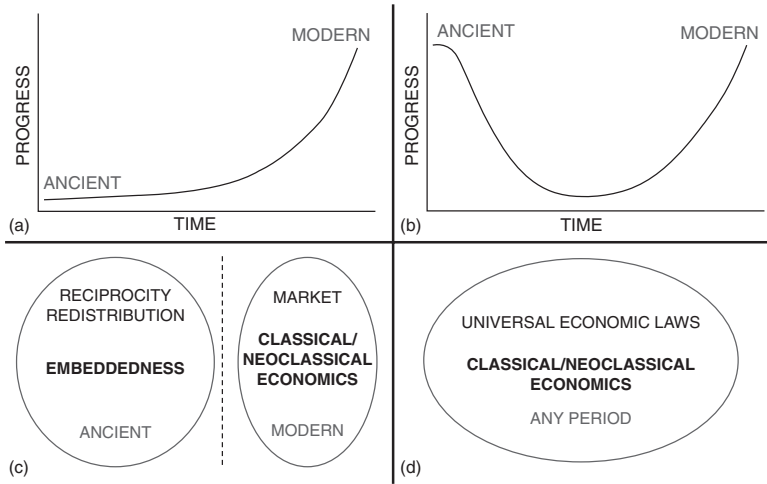


FIG. 5 Schematic representation of primitivism (a), modernism (b), substantivism (c) and formalism (d).

There still remained an intimate – and unresolved – paradox in the primitivist–modernist opposition. Both stances stemmed from the same positivist attitude and could not but present modern western capitalism as the final outcome of either a linear or a cyclical progress, the natural benchmark against which to test the economic achievements of other civilisations and their economies. In a way, even though they differed – and crucially! – about the results of this test, they nonetheless agreed on the relevance of running it in the first place. This major flaw, inherent in both approaches, could only be appreciated by someone with quite a refined understanding of how closely the rise of capitalism was tied to a specific historical context. Max Weber, the founding father of sociology, certainly acknowledged the outstanding achievements of the ancient economies (at times even akin to what modern capitalism had achieved), but he also noticed how they were

archaeological evidence, if used at all, was never presented and explained to the reader. Here a lavish series of plates introduced us directly to the archaeological evidence; and the caption of each plate really made us understand what one could learn from apparently insignificant items' (Momigliano 1954: 341 = 1966: 91). Also Shaw 1992: 221.

not directed towards reproducing individual/collective material wealth (capitalism proper) as much as towards promoting individual/collective social status. In the end, he came to conclude that:

the long and continuous history of Mediterranean-European civilization does not show either closed cycles or linear progress. Sometimes phenomena of ancient civilization have disappeared entirely and then come to light again in an entirely new context.¹⁹

At the time there was not so much cross-fertilisation between what we today would refer to as ‘cognate disciplines’ – that is Ancient History and the newly born sociology. As a result, Weber’s sociological work went broadly unnoticed among ancient historians.²⁰ Conversely, his ideas were to acquire a relevant place in another debate, this time sparked within the anthropology of the 1930–40s:

The outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man’s economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interests in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end. Neither the process of production nor that of distribution is linked to specific economic interests attached to the possession of goods; but every single step in that process is geared to a number of social interests which eventually ensure that the required step be taken. These interests will be very different in a small hunting or fishing community from those in a vast despotic society, but in either case the economic system will be run on noneconomic motives.²¹

Karl Polanyi did in fact envision the possibility of approaching the economy in two different – and mutually exclusive – ways: ‘formal’ and ‘substantive’.²² A ‘formal’ approach assumes human actors to face scarcity and therefore to adopt a ‘maximising’ (or ‘economising’) behaviour which is governed by universal economic laws, laws that exist outside and independently of any specific context and that can be used to

¹⁹ Weber 1909: 182 = 1976: 366. The terms Weber used are *Kreisläufe* (‘closed courses’) and *geradlinige Entwicklung* (‘straight development’).

²⁰ Morris 1999: xvi; Morley 2004: 40.

²¹ Polanyi 1944: 46.

²² Polanyi 1957b: 243–50.

describe and understand any society (Fig. 5d). Substantivism, on the other hand, denies any universal character to such laws since they have been specifically developed to explain modern capitalist market: whereas in modern societies the economy represents a distinctive and separate range of activities with its own rules and goals (e.g. those of an impersonal price-making market based on supply–demand patterns), this was not the case in other earlier societies, where such activities were subordinated to social interests and therefore ‘embedded’ in extra-market relationships (Fig. 5c). The ancient world, for example, was held to have fallen squarely in this second category.²³

Substantivism is routinely associated with primitivism, but such an association is ultimately mistaken.²⁴ Primitivism and substantivism do both argue that the ancient economy worked differently from the modern economy: however, primitivism views it as an early stage in a linear evolution leading precisely there (i.e. market-based capitalism), whereas substantivism does question the very idea of such a necessary linear development (Figs 5a, 5c). Similar considerations could be made about the relationship between modernism and formalism as they do both argue in favour of the use of notions and concepts derived from modern economic theory to explain the ancient economy, but for very different reasons: whereas formalism envisions such laws as universal and always applicable (to all societies), modernism would apply them to the ancient world only because the ancient world was – in a way – qualitatively modern (Figs 5b, 5d).

Framing *The Ancient Economy*

With *The Ancient Economy* Finley placed himself at the intersection of all these debates. This is something which can be easily appreciated by considering the main tenet of his own model: the ancient economy was different from the modern

²³ Polanyi 1944: 55. Also Polanyi 1957a.

²⁴ A point clearly appreciated by Morris 1994: 354. Overlapping features are briefly discussed in Morley 2004: 44–5.

one because of the existence of an overriding system of political and social values that the ancient economy itself was ultimately embedded in – something that modern economies were no more. Those who had the means to invest to a profit – or at least the vast majority of them – were not interested in doing so for the sake of a profit (as with a modern capitalist attitude), but rather aimed at satisfying those material requirements that their social status entailed. Hence the emphasis on consumption rather than production and – if one likes – on production rather than productivity: the ancient economy was indeed characterised by a cellular self-sufficiency, the main basis of wealth being agriculture. Ancient cities were predominantly centres of consumption and therefore parasitic in relationship to their rural hinterland. The scale of trade was limited and the extent of the market negligible. Technology was stagnant and played little or no part towards supporting an economic growth that had never actually materialised. Furthermore, since the economy was subjected to political and social goals, it did not exist as an autonomous sphere of action or thinking. And this is the reason why the ancients had not developed any proper economic theory beyond very basic, commonsensical considerations.²⁵

A notable point was represented by Finley's rejection of the (Marxist) notion of 'class' in favour of (Weberian) 'status', an aspect of his scholarship that had already emerged during his own discussion of 'slavery/freedom' and 'class struggle' during the earlier decade:²⁶

One conclusion which I believe to be inescapable to any historian of antiquity who studies *Das Kapital* is that the *specific* analysis of the mechanics of the capitalist mode of production is almost wholly irrelevant to the study of the ancient society, whereas the method of analysis is illuminating. The Greeks and the Romans also engaged in agriculture, manufacture, trade and moneylending, but the social relations, the 'specific form in which labour acquires a social

²⁵ Finley 1985c: 17–34 (absence of ancient economics), 35–94 and 150–76 (status), 95–122 (agricultural production), 123–49 (the ancient city, trade); also Finley 1965e (technology). His overall position was aptly summarised by Hopkins 1983: xi–xii.

²⁶ Finley 1964b: 235–6, 243, 247–8 = 1981: 118–19, 126–7, 131; 1967: 202. The embryonic stage of these ideas was clearly seen by Vidal-Naquet 1965: 121–2.

Finley and the Ancient Economy

character', in Marx's phrasing was basically very different from what it has been ever since the beginning of the modern era in western history.

... A central question then is why the history of all hitherto existing society is so often the history of the absence of class struggles or of their abortive nature.²⁷

Both class and status had been used to describe and interpret social relations: whereas the former grouped people by way of their shared position within the economic process, the latter pooled them together in accordance with a series of social-political rights, privileges, expectations and duties that had set them apart from the rest. As such, however, 'class' appeared to be bound to a specific historical conjuncture where the economic process had become the driving force behind all social relationships, that is the modern capitalistic world.²⁸ And this could in fact be taken as an answer to the question about the absence of 'class struggles' in antiquity:

Invariably, what are conventionally called 'class struggles' in antiquity prove to be conflicts between groups at different points in the [status] spectrum disputing the distribution of specific rights and privileges. When genuine slaves did finally revolt ... their concern was with themselves and their status, not with slavery as an institution, not, simply stated, to abolish slavery.²⁹

According to Finley, to try and mechanically apply the notion of class to the ancient world would put together slaves and free-wage labourers, 'as would the richest senator and the non-working owner of a small pottery', getting to the point where '[t]he pull on the historian of the capitalist, market-oriented economy reveals itself most strongly'.³⁰ Status – 'an admirably vague word with a considerable psychological element' – made it possible, on the other hand, to make sense of apparent oddities like the existence of slaves with a *peculium* (i.e. a form of property).³¹ Marxist admirers – like Geoffrey de Ste. Croix – soon (even amicably) deserted Finley.³²

²⁷ Finley 1967: 202.

²⁸ As summarised in Morris 1999: xi–xix.

²⁹ Finley 1985c: 68.

³⁰ Finley 1985c: 49.

³¹ Finley 1985c: 49–51, 64–5.

³² de Ste. Croix 1981: 58–9, 91–6; also Di Benedetto 1975 = 1978. Compare and contrast with Finley 1985c: 183–5.

On the whole, it was clear to Finley that the ancient economy had not worked anything like our own. Likewise, the laws, formulae and models that classical and neo-classical economics had since developed to describe and explain the modern economy – industrial and capitalist – had no utility in any analysis of the Greek and Roman civilisations. Even worse than that, they were bound to be profoundly misleading. Finley commented:

It will be objected that I am arbitrarily restricting ‘economics’ to the analysis of a capitalist system, whereas non-capitalist or precapitalist societies also have economies, with rules and regularities and even a measure of predictability, whether they conceptualize them or not. I agree, save for the word ‘arbitrarily’, and I obviously agree that we have the right to study such economies, to pose questions about their society that the ancients themselves never thought of.³³

The central point in the above passage is really represented by Finley’s objection to the word ‘arbitrarily’, as he clearly felt that he was not the one to blame for such a narrow reading of economics. If anything, this was a ‘sin’ shared by both modernism and formalism. Accordingly he stressed the need ‘to seek different concepts and different models, appropriate to the ancient economy, not (or not necessarily) to ours’.³⁴

Given the ‘either/or’ nature of the debate on the ancient economy, it is perhaps inevitable that Finley was to be labelled a primitivist. After all, his tendency to understate relevant economic features of the ancient world (e.g. in terms of self-sufficiency, little trade, technological stagnation) was an all-too-familiar trademark of primitivism. The fact that Finley edited a collection of earlier papers by Bücher, Meyer and Beloch – that is some of the most authoritative voices in the original primitivism–modernist debate – could not be really taken to suggest that he was placing himself beyond those terms.³⁵ Indeed, even though Hopkins thought Finley’s model to be flexible enough as to incorporate a more positive appraisal of overall levels of total production, consumption

³³ Finley 1985c: 23.

³⁴ Finley 1985c: 27.

³⁵ Finley 1979e.

and trade, this was meant to be possible ‘without undermining its basic primitivism’.³⁶

In contrast with that, however, any reader looking for one explicit line about an alleged endorsement of primitivism in *The Ancient Economy* will be quite frustrated in his/her search. And ‘primitive’ itself is a qualification that recurs rather infrequently and somewhat ambiguously across the book – certainly less frequently and more ambiguously than one would otherwise expect from a champion of primitivism.³⁷ As a matter of fact, Finley happens to be rather explicit in rejecting ‘primitive’ models when talking about the town–country relationship:

The model must then be complicated because the isolated city–country unit exists only in very primitive societies or in the imagination of Utopian writers. A city may outgrow the food-producing capability of its own hinterland. ... The primitive models suitable for the isolated city must therefore be modified by further variables: rents, taxes and tribute drawn from outside the immediate territory of the city; production, both urban and rural, for export; transport facilities. Nor can politics be ignored, even in a ‘purely economic’ analysis. Successful Roman expansion freed Italian land from taxation, a case of one variable, external tribute, cancelling out another, internal levies on the countryside.³⁸

In fact, it could be rightfully claimed that Finley was not a primitivist at all. As he drew on Weber – much more than he did with Polanyi – he had actually projected himself beyond the very coordinates of the old primitivism–modernism debate.³⁹ Indeed, even though Polanyi was happy to firmly place the ancient world alongside the ‘primitive’ populations of the South Pacific in the group of redistributive exchange societies, the same cannot be really said of Finley. In his contribution on *Anthropology and the Classics* (1975) he took issue on how relevant Polanyi’s model could have been to the ancient world:

[Polanyi’s] insights remain indispensable in the study of the classical trade, indeed of trade in all pre-industrial societies. The implication was irresistible

³⁶ Hopkins 1983: xxi.

³⁷ As such he is still portrayed, for example, in Nafissi 2005: 235–6. Note that the term ‘primitive’ recurs only six times in Finley 1985c: 45, 105, 125–6, 138 (quoted), 163.

³⁸ Finley 1985c: 125–6.

³⁹ Morris 1999: xi–xix. Saller 2002: 253–4 = 2005: 224–5. Pace Nafissi 2005: 189–283.

that the student of classical trade should steep himself in the available studies of primitive trade, as did Polanyi himself. At least I could not resist, until I discovered that these studies, thorough, sophisticated and increasingly numerous though they are, were more misleading than illuminating for my purpose. Peasants and peasant markets, administered trade (a technical phrase in Polanyi's usage), ports of trade (another Polanyi phrase), conventional 'prices', barter are to be found in both worlds. But the intrusion of genuine market (commercial) trade, on a considerable scale and over very great distances, into the Graeco-Roman world had a feedback effect on peasant markets and the rest to such a degree as to render the primitive models all but useless.⁴⁰

It is especially relevant that this paragraph is closed by an endnote which is merely a reference to *The Ancient Economy*.⁴¹ In a way, Finley seems to suggest that his book should have made it clear that the Greco-Roman world was not 'primitive'. Further to the point he claimed:

Ideally, we should create a third discipline [i.e. besides sociology and anthropology], the comparative study of literate, post-primitive (if I may), pre-industrial, historical societies. (I include the attribute 'historical' because the larger and more complex societies, non-literate or literate, which anthropologists do study are severely contaminated by their contact with the modern European world.) For most of the concerns of the classicist (and for most of the periods he concentrates) pre-Maoist China, pre-colonial India, medieval Europe, pre-revolutionary Russia, medieval Islam offer a more appropriate field for the systematic investigation of uniformities and differences, and therefore for an increased understanding of the society and culture of his own discipline.⁴²

Finley was certainly a substantivist and, as such, he simply opposed any 'formal' analysis of the ancient economy with notions derived from the observation of the modern one. This is because the ancient economy was 'embedded', the modern one – *supposedly* – not.

⁴⁰ Finley 1975c: 117. Such contribution represented a slightly revised version of the Jane Harrison Memorial Lecture he had delivered at Newnham College, Cambridge on 13 May 1972.

⁴¹ This not insignificant detail should go a long way towards suggesting – in line with Tompkins 2008: 130–2 – that it is pointless to look for an intellectual rupture between *The Ancient Economy* and *Anthropology and the Classics* (pace Nafissi 2005: 232–7).

⁴² Finley 1975c: 119.

**Framing *The Ancient Economy* through the
New Institutional Economics**

However, there is something to be said about how much, in practice, substantivism and formalism can be really held to be mutually exclusive. Recent scholarship on the economy of the Greek and Roman world – most prominently some of the scholars associated with *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* – has made us used to the notions of ‘structure’ and ‘performance’.⁴³ They draw explicit inspiration from the work of the economist Douglass North within the New Institutional Economics, but the influence of the work of Finley and (especially) Hopkins is rather considerable.⁴⁴

Every society has a specific structure which is defined by its institutions (political, social, economic, cultural – both formal and informal), its technology and its demography. All these variables are bound to affect the economic performance of that society, a performance that can be appraised in terms of, for example, how much is produced, the distribution of costs and benefits, or the stability of production. Economic history therefore should concern itself with an analysis of structure and performance in their evolution and interaction through time. The prominent role reserved for the political, social and cultural specifics of any society is certainly near to a substantivist position. Nonetheless, the equal stress put on appraising performance by way of notions developed within modern economics (e.g. total output, output per capita) does involve a rather ‘formal’ approach.⁴⁵

Some might find it remarkable indeed that the above considerations – and the underlying line of reasoning – can somehow be traced, in their essence, in a couple of interrelated passages from *The Ancient Economy*:

When, in the middle of the second century B.C., Rome decided for political reasons to bring Rhodes to heel, she accomplished that by the simple device

⁴³ E.g., Lo Cascio 2006; Kehoe 2007; Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007; also Erdkamp, Verboven and Zuiderhoek forthcoming.

⁴⁴ North 1981, 1990.

⁴⁵ As remarked by Scheidel 2012: 9–10.

of declaring the island of Delos a free port and improving the harbour installations there. The Rhodians soon complained that the effect on their public revenues was a reduction from one million drachmas a year to a mere 150,000. That drastic decline in the volume of traffic, eighty-five per cent, from which Rhodian traders would not have been protected ... will have hit all the subsidiary services as well, amounting altogether to a most severe blow on the Rhodian economy, private as well as public.⁴⁶

When Rome punished Rhodes ... Roman senators would not have been unaware that economic benefits would follow for the merchants trading through Delos. Did that weigh in the decision, which was basically political, or was it a consequence of incidental significance, even though not an undesirable one?⁴⁷

Of course, Finley thought that this was 'a consequence of incidental significance': the Romans aimed at punishing Rhodes, not favouring Delos – an important distinction. But he also saw no controversy in the fact that a change in the structure of Delos (i.e. the granting of specific rights by the Romans) had a clear impact on the economic performance of both Delos and Rhodes – whatever we think of Polybius' figures and their origin.⁴⁸ He clearly saw no contradiction in this and felt confident enough to claim that:

In a society as complex as the Greek or Roman, it is hard to conceive of any action by a state which lacked an economic component, which neither involved disbursements, public or private, nor had an impact on one or another aspect of the economy. In that sense, all public acts are also economic acts, a meaningless statement. To appreciate how the ancient state made its mark on the economy (and vice versa, the economy on the state), it is necessary not only to differentiate aims and consequences but also to place the accent correctly (I avoid the word 'cause'), to pinpoint the interests as precisely as possible.⁴⁹

Put simply, Finley's concern was on intent: in other words, his own interest lay in the institutional framework which presided over and informed such choices (i.e. the structure). In principle, however, emphasising the role and the specific nature of the structure should have not prevented anyone from measuring performance by such indicators as those employed by

⁴⁶ Finley 1985c: 130.

⁴⁷ Finley 1985c: 155.

⁴⁸ The Rhodians were aware of that too: Pol. 30.31.10–12.

⁴⁹ Finley 1985c: 156.

modern economics. As Finley himself had already remarked (above), modern scholars have the right to pose questions about ancient society that the ancients themselves never thought of. The problem is, of course, how much should scholars make use of their modern economic indicators towards defining intent and attitude, towards explaining the choices of the ancients. This is in fact the point where the views of Finley and North seem to diverge most.

The key notion in New Institutional Economics is represented by ‘transactional costs’. These are the costs – in terms of effort, time and resources – that individuals have to meet in order to interact – i.e. ‘transact’ – with each other. In a world plagued by a far from perfect understanding of how things work and what is the best way to deal with them, transacting is irremediably costly. Humans have therefore since devised constraints that limit the set of choices, but also make outcomes less uncertain and more predictable: these are labelled ‘institutions’. Institutions are employed to reduce transactional costs, thus increasing the performance of the transaction itself.⁵⁰ Their actual effectiveness can vary a lot, but they are nonetheless the expression of a ‘wealth-maximising’, ‘economising’ attitude shared by all individuals, in all periods. Indeed, according to North, this would apply equally well to ancient and modern societies. By making explicit his reference to Polanyi, he held reciprocity, redistribution and market *all* to be economising ‘transactional modes’ – each in his own way (i.e. more or less performing), but definitely *all* evolved as ways to reduce transactional costs.⁵¹ I think Finley could have not disagreed more.

However, North’s programme was less totalising than one would think, as he remarked that:

[Looking for an economising explanation] should not be construed as maintaining that other disciplines do not have a part to play in explaining institutional arrangements. Rather, I wish to make the affirmative point that as yet we have not even tried to see how far economic analysis will take us in explaining

⁵⁰ North 1990: 17–53.

⁵¹ North 1977.

economic arrangements of economies. Before we abandon or supplement economic analysis we must first find out what it can do for us.⁵²

In other words, North acknowledged the fact that an economising attitude can only be part of the answer and that an economic approach is better thought of as complementary rather than alternative to cultural and social analyses.

The Problem of Embeddedness

I think it is indeed possible to detect some not unrelated tension within both North and Finley. While they tended to emphasise either an economising attitude (North) or a social-political intent (Finley), they still could not refuse to acknowledge that relevant insights could be derived from social and economic analysis respectively. In the case of North, this is quite explicitly stated (above) and seems to have since informed a sort of ‘sociological turn’ within New Institutional Economics.⁵³ As for Finley, going back to the example of Rhodes, it is implied that economic insights made it possible to appreciate the full impact of a political act.

The tension here is between ‘under-socialised’ and ‘over-socialised’ conceptions of human action. These notions draw on some seminal ideas presented by the sociologist Mark Granovetter within the field of economic sociology, a discipline that has since timidly found its way into the scholarship of the ancient world, mainly through the contribution of Ian Morris and Joseph Manning.⁵⁴ On the one hand, the New Institutional Economics would suffer from a latent tendency ‘to deflect the analysis of institutions from sociological, historical, and legal argumentation and show instead that they arise as the efficient solution to economic problems’ (in so doing their programme would be *under-socialised*).⁵⁵ On the

⁵² North 1977: 709.

⁵³ Nee 2005: 53–5; also North 2005: 11–80.

⁵⁴ Under-socialised/over-socialised: Granovetter 1985; Morris 1999: xxvii–xxxii (used in a critique of Finley). Economic sociology of the ancient world: Morris and Manning 2005a, 2005b: 31–3.

⁵⁵ Granovetter 1985: 485.

other hand, however, a substantivist position would run the opposite risk (i.e. *over-socialisation*) by exaggerating the extent to which non-economic considerations, however defined, can overshadow economic ones.

Finley was somewhat aware of this conundrum. Indeed, just before reintroducing the example of Rhodes, he observed:

Economic policy and unintended economic consequences are difficult to disentangle, especially in a society in which 'economic elements are inextricably joined to political and religious factors', but we must make the attempt.⁵⁶

It is quite right to stress that granting specific rights to Delos was a political act carried out to punish Rhodes. It might be legitimate to question the existence of a specific (Roman) economic policy aimed at benefiting Delos, thus claiming, instead, that such benefits were a 'consequence of incidental significance'. Nonetheless, one would find it really hard to believe that the loss caused to Rhodes was merely a collateral economic effect. In fact, any attempt towards disentangling economic policy from such unintended economic consequences has the only effect of making the whole issue even more entangled as it cannot but end up polarising the interpretation between two separate – and as such equally unsatisfactory – orders of explanation: that is economic and political. I think no one has much to gain, in terms of insight, from such an attempt. As noted by Granovetter, 'our habit of analyzing politics and economics as separate spheres can lead to highly inappropriate conclusions'.⁵⁷ As it happens, such an attitude would contradict, I think, a fundamental tenet of Finley's own model: the embeddedness of the ancient economy.

The notion of embeddedness is at the very core of the substantivist argument. In Polanyi's view it is what made the reciprocity and redistributive exchange systems of the premodern societies so distinct from the market of the moderns.⁵⁸ North, on the contrary, has argued that reciprocity and redistributive systems have always co-existed with the market, since its

⁵⁶ Finley 1985c: 155.

⁵⁷ Granovetter 2005: 87.

⁵⁸ Polanyi 1944: 56–67.

supposed first appearance in the sixth century BC, and have done so even in the nineteenth century:

Price-making markets have never completely dominated economic decision making throughout history, *including* the nineteenth century. We do not observe resources being allocated by market prices inside households, voluntary organizations, and government throughout history. Even in the hey-day of the market economy when presumably ‘the cash nexus’ ... had (for a brief period) replaced other values in the system, a large percentage of allocative decisions did not occur in price-making markets. Reciprocity and redistribution are everywhere characteristic today as in the past in resource allocation within households, voluntary organizations, and in government.⁵⁹

This awareness, however, led him to think that it was possible to identify the signs of an economising attitude even in non-market exchange systems:

If my contention is correct that non-market allocation of resources was a major aspect of economic organization in a century when even Polanyi conceded that economizing behaviour characterized economic activity, then we can begin by asking ourselves if there is not an economizing explanation for these other ‘transactional modes’.⁶⁰

However, if an economising attitude can provide part of the explanation for non-market allocative systems, economic sociologists have since argued that it is possible to produce social explanations for the market itself, since the market is no less embedded in social relations than non-market exchange systems, a central point in Granovetter’s critical analysis of the modern firm and its relationship with the market.⁶¹ In other words, our own economy would still be, and very much so, embedded, but in forms that lead us to think that it is not. According to Granovetter, ‘idealized markets of perfect competition have survived intellectual attack in part because self-regulating economic structures are politically attractive to many’.⁶² With explicit reference to both substantivism and formalism he observed:

My own view diverges from both schools of thought. I assert that the level of embeddedness of economic behaviour is lower in nonmarket societies than is

⁵⁹ North 1977: 709.

⁶⁰ North 1977: 709.

⁶¹ Granovetter 1985.

⁶² Granovetter 1985: 484.

claimed by substantivists and development theorists, and it has changed less with ‘modernization’ than they believe; but I argue also that this level has always been and continues to be more substantial than is allowed for by formalists and economists.⁶³

It is fair to say that, although the concept of embeddedness remains in need of greater theoretical specification, it has found its way even into the New Institutional Economics. Indeed, NIE reckons with two kinds of institutions: formal and informal. Formal institutions are, for example, laws and rights. Informal institutions include, for example, codes of conduct, norms of behaviour and conventions. Informal institutions are held to have a pervasive influence upon the long-run character of economies, to impose constraints on the development of formal institutions and to change very slowly over time.⁶⁴ According to Oliver Williamson – another prominent voice in the New Institutional Economics, the one Granovetter originally levelled his critique at, a critique Williamson integrated in his own view – informal institutions belong to the level of embeddedness and he conjectures about their ‘mainly spontaneous origins – which is to say that deliberative choice of a calculative kind is minimally implicated’.⁶⁵

Change within an Embedded Economy

If social-cultural attitudes do exercise and have exercised – always and everywhere – a profound influence on patterns of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services, then it follows that an overall interpretation which embraces this notion of embeddedness is not at all bound to a static view of economic development.⁶⁶ As a matter of fact, however, one of the crucial aspects of *The Ancient Economy* is that it offered a static and uniform view of the ancient Mediterranean: as Greeks and Romans had led their lives within a broadly similar cultural milieu over a period of

⁶³ Granovetter 1985: 482.

⁶⁴ North 1990: 36–53.

⁶⁵ Williamson 2000: 596–7.

⁶⁶ Contrast and compare with relevant comments in Nafissi 2005: 267–71.

1,500 years, no relevant changes/variations in structure – and therefore performance – were held to have taken place between the Early Iron Age and Late Antiquity. As noted by Hopkins, ‘paradoxically for a theory which proposes that the ancient economy was embedded in the polity, it seems to underestimate the impact of political changes’.⁶⁷

An explanation for this curious oddity is perhaps to be found in Finley’s ambivalent attitude to quantification. Economic change – whether growth or decline – can only be appreciated by observing the behaviour of specific performance indicators (e.g. population and production levels) or, in their absence, of relevant proxy evidence (e.g. settlement patterns for population levels, the spread of technological improvements for increased productivity): in other words it cannot but rely on some form of quantification. Apart from the traditional grouching about the lack of ancient figures, Finley had in fact acknowledged that ‘[s]tatistics help both to uncover and elucidate the patterns’; but he was also very much aware of the fact that ‘there are also facets that are not susceptible of quantification’ and he therefore saw a great danger in the tendency of ‘then imputing that knowledge to the ancients themselves as an important component in their choices and decisions’.⁶⁸ This tension is mirrored rather nicely in his ambivalent relationship to archaeological datasets and their potential misuses:

None of this is an argument against more and better quantification of evidence. But it is an argument against the view, sometimes expressed explicitly, that what cannot be quantified cannot be dealt with at all, that only quantification produces ‘scientific’ (as distinct from ‘subjective’ or ‘ideological’) analysis and results. The objection is simply that large areas of human behaviour thereby disappear from the ‘scientist’s’ view altogether, including all historical events or series of events.⁶⁹

His wish for ‘a far greater consciousness of the value of statistics’ among archaeologists could have certainly applied to fellow historians as well.⁷⁰ But those who had the greater

⁶⁷ Hopkins 1983: xiv.

⁶⁸ Finley 1985c: 25.

⁶⁹ Finley 1971a: 174 = 1975c: 93. Finley’s views on archaeology are explored more generally in the contribution by Gates-Foster in this volume.

⁷⁰ Finley 1971a: 179 = 1975c: 98.

familiarity with statistics, figures and the varied and refined methods to produce them were precisely that kind of formalism-inclined scholar who would have always opposed any substantivist programme. In the battle for the ancient economy there was too much at stake to risk it all by letting in dangerously misguided interpretations of the historical process – and it was therefore decided to keep them out. This appears to have affected Finley's view of the Greco-Roman economy in terms of both performance and structure.⁷¹ As for the former, he abstained from making use of that array of evidence that, later on, Hopkins would have so effectively employed in developing the notion of a 'modest economic growth' in antiquity.⁷² As for the latter, he both downplayed the impact of technological development and never really engaged with demography, that is two of the most dynamic constituents of the structure itself, those more likely to illuminate patterns of change.⁷³

This is probably the most significant shortcoming in Finley's approach to the ancient economy: his unwillingness – or inability? – to give a proper account of change within an embedded perspective. Given the growing evidence for important (economic) transformations having been accumulated by both archaeological and historical research over the years, his static interpretation of the ancient economy could not but become the weakest link in his chain of arguments. By making it a logical implication of an embedded perspective, he basically undermined the explanatory power of the latter and effectively exposed himself to allegations of primitivism. Even though modest, such changes had in fact existed: if almost irrelevant in comparison to modern transformations ('progress'), they had exercised a considerable influence on the lives of ordinary people across the ancient Mediterranean.⁷⁴ Ironically, this is precisely what Rostovtzeff, with his cyclical view of human progress and a bit of modernist naivety, had clearly

⁷¹ Lo Cascio (2007: 274–5 = 2009: 10) has already stressed the relationship between lack of quantification and Finley's static view of economic development.

⁷² Hopkins 1983: xiv–xxi; also Saller 2002 = 2005.

⁷³ Finley's faulty views on technology: Greene 2000.

⁷⁴ Hopkins 1980, 1995/6 = 2002, 2009; Lo Cascio 2007 = 2009.

acknowledged – a position Finley criticised as ‘too vague’, calling ‘for a more sophisticated effort to approach quantification and pattern-construction’ (*sic*).⁷⁵

The Impact of Finley

In his review of *The Ancient Economy*, Arnaldo Momigliano noted that the title given to the Italian version of the book differed from the original, ‘presumably with the author’s consent’: *L’economia degli antichi e dei moderni*, that is – literally – ‘The economy of the ancients and the moderns’.⁷⁶ Surely this was a very fitting description of what the book was actually about: the substantial – shall we say substantivist? – difference between the economy of the ancients and that of the moderns.

In a way Finley got perfectly right what was a crucial feature of the ancient economy and this is its embeddedness. In the same way, however, he had been lured to believe in an ideological construction that put the modern world on a completely different level where political and economic intent could always be discerned, and this ultimately led him to adopt a static view of the ancient economy in the way I referred to above. As much as he placed himself beyond the paradox of the primitivism/modernism debate (i.e. the idea of the modern world as an absolute benchmark), he could not place himself beyond the paradox of substantivism and formalism, that is the shared belief that the abstract models of classical and neo-classical economics could fully account for the dynamics of the modern economy: they are part of the answer but they do not – in any way – exhaust it.⁷⁷

Nonetheless, the seeds of this line of reasoning – if not pursued to their full consequence – can perhaps still be found in some corners of *The Ancient Economy*:

⁷⁵ Rostovtzeff 1957: vol. 1, 69; Finley 1985c: 33.

⁷⁶ Momigliano 1975: 37. Note that the Italian term *economia* can be used both to refer to ‘economy’ and ‘economics’.

⁷⁷ As noted by William Harris (1993: 11 n. 29), certainly not a supporter of Finley’s view, ‘[t]he species *homo oeconomicus* can exist only in the rarified atmosphere of academic economics, and even some economists are against the concept’.

Finley and the Ancient Economy

Ancient writers – we must never allow ourselves to forget – did not describe land as the best investment in maximization of income language; it was profitable, to be sure, if held on large enough scale, but they ranked it first at least as much on grounds of ‘nature’ and morality, and they had not yet learned to draw a simple one-for-one equation between morality and profits. Even today, it should be remembered, there are important social strata who knowingly accept a low rate of return on investment in farming because there are advantages ‘other than the direct monetary return ... the feeling of personal security, the sporting rights, the social position, possibly some taxation advantage’.⁷⁸

I think Finley’s views on the ancient economy are – at least in some form – still very much with us. His model has been refined, improved and to a significant extent even refuted, but its core argument still holds as much as we are still forcefully reminded – as scholars of the Greek and Roman world – about not underestimating how much the political, social and cultural specifics of any society are bound to impact on the choices actors make and the economic processes they so trigger. In conclusion, as written by Jens Erik Skydsgaard in the close of his review of *The Ancient Economy*:

Some years ago this book might have been more provocative. The present economic crisis has taught many of us that there must be other responses to life than productivity and growth. The ancient model demonstrated by Finley is as strange to us as a science-fiction novel, but it might be nearer to ‘historical truth’ than the ordinary textbook. ... The resulting picture of antiquity is not the classical one and not a pretty one, but few science-fiction novels are pretty. If history has a meaning in our time, it might be to demonstrate other models of life realized by people in another time. And this is what Finley has done.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Finley 1985c: 121–2.

⁷⁹ Skydsgaard 1975: 619.

CHAPTER 13

FINLEY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

JENNIFER GATES-FOSTER

Historical archaeology has several definitions. One of the more unfortunate ones – which is certainly not true ... is that historical archaeology is the most expensive way in the world to learn something we already know.¹

Introduction

Moses Finley is, to borrow a phrase from Greg Woolf, the historian Roman archaeologists “love to hate.”² His assessment of the contribution of archaeology, standing on its own, to our knowledge of the past, especially the classical past, was almost uniformly negative, at least in print. This is deeply unfortunate given that his stature in the field of Ancient History persists even as later generations have modified or rejected many of the key tenets of his work. His derision of archaeology as a field hamstrung both by the nature of its evidence and the theoretical meanderings of its practitioners still echoes through the writing of some historians who embrace this aspect of Finley’s writings (and his juicy sound bites) even as they reject his claims about the scale of economic activity in antiquity or the organization of slave labor.

There is considerable irony, however, in using Finley’s writing as a bludgeon to attack the field and practice of archaeology today because Finley’s sustained engagement with that field is proof enough of his conviction that archaeology

¹ I would like to thank Anthony Snodgrass, Susan Walker, David Mattingly, Paul Halstead, Paul Cartledge, Dorothy Thompson, and Susan Alcock, all of whom contributed their thoughts and observations to this paper. Deetz 1991: 1.

² Woolf 2004: 424.

mattered. He himself was deeply convinced of the centrality of material evidence to historical enquiry from the earliest stages of his academic career and remained so until his death. His critiques focused primarily on how archaeology should be practiced in order to be useful to people like him who were interested in creating as dynamic a picture of the ancient past as possible. He also cared deeply about how a *historian* ought to responsibly deploy archaeological data in the writing of history and the creation of empirically testable models. What he cared much less about, however, was how an *archaeologist*, as a sub-species of historian, should independently interpret his or her material evidence and he fundamentally disbelieved in the ability of material evidence on its own to offer insight into the past. The archaeologist's duty was to provide accessible, contextualized hard data from which history could be written, texts firmly in hand.

The subject of this essay is Finley's view of and overall impact on archaeology, especially classical archaeology, within the particular context of Cambridge, where his treatment of individual archaeologists and active support, even advocacy, for the discipline suggests a much more nuanced relationship with archaeology than is evident in his published writing on the topic. In the interest of not dwelling overmuch on the negative – but giving it fair time, nevertheless – this discussion will add some contours to the picture of “Moses Finley and archaeology” that is widely known and accepted by both his contemporaries and those who know him only through what he chose to put in writing.

In particular the essay will focus on how his relationship to archaeology as a field changed over the course of his long and varied career, turning first to his engagement with more “traditional” forms of classical archaeology before considering his interactions with the processualist school of the New Archaeology. It will then take up the question of his relationship with archaeologists, as scholars and individuals, because these two different perspectives tell such widely divergent tales that it is worth drawing out this contrast in some detail, particularly in the context of Cambridge where so many of those

relationships were formed and flourished. Finally, some consideration will be given to the way that archaeologists today engage with many of the questions that Finley considered critical to the study of the past.

Before the Great Awakening

In Finley's academic evaluation of archaeology, as with many things, Michael Rostovtzeff was a key figure of contrast, serving as a foil for his own choices – a kind of parallel life with a deeply divergent outcome. In a 1965 piece that was a clear forerunner of *The Ancient Economy*, Rostovtzeff served as a negative exemplum for the proper use of archaeological evidence as Finley criticized his tendency to push his conclusions beyond what the archaeological evidence could, in Finley's opinion, bear.³ Finley's relentless minimalizing of the material stood in direct contrast with Rostovtzeff's desire to see in the archaeology both a romantic wormhole to past lives and evidence for growth and widespread connectivity, particularly in his analysis of the ceramic evidence. "We are," Finley says, "too often victims of that great curse of archaeology, the indestructibility of pots."⁴

Later, Finley cuttingly characterized Rostovtzeff's use of archaeology as the provision of "illuminating caption(s)" with the implication that archaeological evidence was mere anecdote and illustration.⁵ It's quite a change of tack, and illustrates the degree to which Finley, in his early years, was trying to work out just what archaeology was good for and what its proper role was in the responsible practice of history, especially economic history, as he understood it. Was it data upon which to found conclusions or, ultimately, simply pictures? Rostovtzeff, whose writing embodied both ways of using material evidence, was clearly a critical yardstick in this regard.⁶

³ Finley 1965c: 42.

⁴ Finley 1965c: 41.

⁵ Finley 1975c: 87.

⁶ This tension in Finley's relationship with Rostovtzeff's work is, of course, part of a more encompassing dynamic. See Saller 2005.

It is telling that *The World of Odysseus* (1954), Finley's first major publication, responds to questions fundamentally shaped by narratives derived from archaeological material but hardly makes a mention of those findings. His account – tight, considered, and economical – moves through the world framed by the great discoveries of Schliemann, Blegen, et al., but hardly engages with the material evidence except in a few glancing, critical asides.⁷ For example, Finley finds in the archaeological remains convenient support for the challenge he mounted to the relationship between the Mycenaean age and the world of the Homeric poems on other grounds.⁸ The archaeological evidence plays a supporting role at best, not unlike the “illuminating caption” which he disapproved of in Rostovtzeff's work.

In addition to using the archaeology as a support for his argument, Finley also, and more notably, took it as an opportunity to critique Schliemann and his successors. In them he found easy targets:

Schliemann's achievements were epoch-making. Nevertheless, despite the claims, the unassailable fact is that nothing he or his successors have found, not a single scrap, links the destruction of Troy VIIA with Mycenaean Greece... Troy VIIA turns out to have been a pitiful, poverty-stricken little place with no treasure, without any large or imposing buildings, with nothing remotely resembling a palace.⁹

By attacking Schliemann and Blegen, and reinterpreting the remains they found for his own argument, Finley demonstrates what would become his later *modus operandi*

⁷ It is only in the appendix added to the second edition years later of the *World of Odysseus* (Chatto & Windus edition, 1977) that the reader is given a considered discussion of the burgeoning corpus of material evidence for Dark Age Greece and a real engagement with the contribution that archaeology might make to the sorts of questions that he addressed in the book. This is both a function of the new evidence available to Finley, but also demonstrates his higher opinion of the kind of archaeological work being done by younger archaeologists, especially Anthony Snodgrass and his students.

⁸ He himself made this point in a preface added to the second edition of the *World of Odysseus*: “I cannot resist pointing out that proper concern for social institutions and social history had anticipated what archaeology and philology subsequently found.” *Finley 1977c*: xx.

⁹ *Finley 1954*: 37.

in dealing with archaeologists and archaeological material: expose the flaws in the questions asked by archaeologists of their own material. His most pointed critique in the *World of Odysseus* is reserved for the antiquarian archaeologists whose irresponsible use of the textual sources led them to make wild claims about the archaeological materials they recovered.¹⁰

This theme of the irresponsible archaeologist was also a strong element in Finley's early popular writing on historical topics, which had a heavy materialist slant. In the decade after the publication of *Odysseus*, most of Finley's active engagement with archaeology was arguably in the public sphere, particularly in his radio presentations and numerous reviews of popular archaeological books for venues such as the *New York Review of Books*, *New Statesman*, and the like.¹¹ In 1964, for example, he reviewed some eighteen books that can be characterized as primarily archaeological, including Boardman's *The Greeks Overseas* and Jacquetta Hawkes's *The World of the Past* – demonstrating in a matter of months his taste for both the good and the pulpy, comically awful.¹² His critique of Jacquetta Hawkes is typical:

The selection overemphasizes the well-worn romance of archaeology (although Miss Hawkes avoids the phrase), the early discoveries (and errors), at the expense of the far more rigorous and systematic work of the past three or four decades. Miss Hawkes seems not to have enough confidence that her readers will possess a sufficiently serious interest. Two other areas neglected by Miss Hawkes are the subject of the latest "Ancient Peoples and Places" series. Perhaps her silence is preferable on Spain to this mix of nonsensical generalization ... and strung out card file.¹³

Finley was a voracious consumer of archaeological writing, and he was an acerbic and perceptive critic. His reviews consistently engage with the leitmotif of how one should responsibly analyze and present archaeological data and it is through this popular writing we can see the intensity of his preoccupation

¹⁰ For more in this vein, see [Finley et al. 1964](#).

¹¹ See Beard's essay in this volume.

¹² [Finley 1964a](#), [1964d](#), [1964e](#), [1964g](#), [1964h](#), [1964i](#).

¹³ [Finley 1964g](#).

with this issue. It is a curious kind of parallel intellectual life, although the cross-fertilization between his academic and public persona is clear, since many of his popular archaeological exempla – the hapless Jacquetta Hawkes, for example – reappear in his academic writing as stock characters, held up as morality tales for “what not to do.”¹⁴

As is clear in both his academic and popular writing in the 1960s, Finley recognized, in a way that Rostovtzeff did not, the fundamental problems with the kind of archaeology that was practiced in the century before the “great awakening” of the New Archaeology that same decade, which was pioneered by David Clarke and Lewis Binford. Finley cut his teeth on the archaeological world of the taxonomic specialists whose interests were in the objects themselves and the close study of morphological particulars with little regard for the larger context of the artifact or its historical significance.¹⁵ Connoisseurship, the creation of typologies for their own sake, aesthetic judgments (his rough treatment of Jacquetta Hawkes, as above) – these were abhorred by Finley as a moribund pursuit that could not make contributions to the kinds of questions he wished to answer. His particular target in this arena seems to have been John Boardman, whom he repeatedly singles out for criticism:

... in classical archaeology the heritage of Winckelmann, with its mixture of treasure-hunting and antiquated art history still retains a considerable following, in some quarters the dominant one, affecting and restricting archaeological work from the initial choice of excavation sites to the final analysis of the finds. In 1973 the then Reader and now Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford began a review article with these words: “A confrontation between Classical Greece and the New Archaeology has yet to take place, and perhaps never will, since the classical archaeologist is bound to a full

¹⁴ His first discussion of Jacquetta Hawkes is in a popular review (Finley 1964g) and she reappears again in [Finley 1975e](#): 88–9.

¹⁵ This approach to archaeological materials has its roots in nineteenth-century approaches to the classification of objects through association with *cultures*, a loose term describing a group unified by material practices and some kind of implied shared identity, and with historical periods, which are thought to be represented materially by serial changes in artifact types. The emphasis by classical archaeologists on typologies, which Finley so roundly criticized, can be understood as part of this approach. See [Trigger 2006](#).

and informative literary background and to art history beside which the contributions of new techniques will never be of great moment, and before which the practitioners of new techniques are usually helpless ...".¹⁶

Finley holds Boardman up as an example of the stagnation in Greek archaeology in particular and goes to detail approvingly the engagement of classical archaeologists working in Roman Britain and "archaeologists in Italy as Frank Brown ... John Ward Perkins ... and Bianchi Bandinelli (who) were engaging in a full scale attack on the position now represented by Boardman."¹⁷ Finley's main objection here seems to be to the traditionalist, deeply positivist (in his perspective) and conservative approach to classical archaeology that he associated with Oxford circles.¹⁸

Finley roundly rejected the idea that artifacts in and of themselves provided a self-evidently valuable body of evidence and abhorred the descriptive catalog for its own sake. His most detailed rejection of art historical methods, contained in a supportive 1976 review of Metzler's *Porträt und Gesellschaft* and Bammer's *Architektur und Gesellschaft*, tears down the hierarchies of style and originality that organized art historical aesthetics in favor of a functional analysis concerned more with the ideological and historical context of artistic production. Finley embraces the treatment of art (in this case the portrait and monumental architecture) as "social communication" and applauds the engagement of the authors with the complexities of the political, cultural, and ideological movements of the periods under study, even when he disagrees with their interpretation of the historical evidence. Finley rails against the neglect and hostility that these works engendered and champions their historicizing approach above the substance of the conclusions that either author reaches. In Finley's estimation, their most significant contribution was the move away from

¹⁶ Finley 1986a: 19. This quote also used by Finley in 1976a: 81. For the context of the original quote and Boardman's full rejection of processualist archaeology in Greek contexts, see Boardman 1973: 67.

¹⁷ Finley 1986a: 19–20.

¹⁸ A. M. Snodgrass, personal communication.

the rigid “filing cabinet of temporal verticals and analogical horizontals” and the study of “non-problems” created by a false hierarchy of aesthetic values.¹⁹

This reviled school of art history was the material *doppelgänger* of the “tell all you know” method of historical inquiry Finley deplored because of its lack of intellectual rigor and meaningful questions. His savaging of P. M. Fraser’s *Ptolemaic Alexandria* is certainly the equal of any missile directed at archaeological work written during his lifetime.²⁰ Archaeologists must accept “the methodological principle that archaeologists have to ask questions and seek answers, not merely to dig sites because they happen to be there.”²¹ The value of the artifact was in its ability to be put to use in the testing of questions and the creation of rigorous research models, not in the study of its materiality. In this respect, Finley explicitly rejected the goals of art historical scholarship, especially Greek art history, and its refusal to embrace new methods or techniques, as he saw it. Simply put, material culture could do more than it was being asked to do.

In this early phase, his critique of art historical taxonomy and connoisseurship was shared by many younger archaeologists who were themselves rejecting the association of artifact types with archaeological cultures and the kinds of analysis it produced. The move toward the New Archaeology was an explicit repudiation of the culture-historical approach to archaeological inquiry and represented a profound change in the analysis of material culture. Finley would to a certain extent support the so-called New Archaeologists in their shared questioning of the established goals and methods of the art historian and the direct challenge they presented to someone like Boardman and others in his circle. Yet this movement also led to changes in how many archaeologists viewed their field and their role, as separate practitioners, in the creation of narratives about the past. It is in this respect that the goals

¹⁹ Finley is referring to criticisms leveled by Bianchi Bandinelli in 1961: 17.

²⁰ Finley 1986a: 61–6.

²¹ Finley 1974e: 143.

of the New Archaeologists most profoundly diverged from the integrated approach to the past that Finley desired.

Finley and the Processualists

The tenets of the New, or Processual, Archaeology that developed in the 1960s were a radical break with the cultural-historical school of archaeology and its antiquarian roots. Processual archaeology aimed for the recovery of systems and processes, with an emphasis on the material and technological aspects of changes in human behavior. A key feature of this shift was the dismissal of chronological frameworks (a cornerstone of historical inquiry) in favor of a scientific approach that emphasized more universal processes of cultural change. The outlines of Finley's refutation of the New Archaeology have been explored by a few scholars, especially Ian Morris who has so productively probed Finley's relationship to archaeology.²² Even so, it is worth reviewing here Finley's main objections to the new orthodoxy and trying to contextualize his positions in relation to events in Cambridge as well as in the field at large.

The move to the New Archaeology in the 1960s stimulated Finley's most direct engagement with the field and its methods. As discussed above, his view of the practice of history always included archaeological evidence, but up until 1964 he seems to have limited himself to comments embedded in his own attempts at synthetic history in which he complains about the methods and kinds of data provided by archaeologists of the time or the improper use of material evidence by other scholars. The New Archaeology changed all this and he began to produce essays and public lectures engaging directly with the new positions being put forth by archaeologists like David Clarke and Lewis Binford. Far from rejecting processual archaeology out of hand, Finley seems to have found in it a welcome stimulus or at least invigorating evidence of the rejuvenation of what he viewed as a stagnating discipline. Anthony Snodgrass remembers from his arrival at Cambridge in 1976 that Finley

²² Morris 1999, 2005.

“greatly approved in principal of the New Archaeology ... he admired some of its practitioners notably Colin Renfrew who returned to Cambridge later ... and Ian Hodder who was a colleague in the Archaeology Department at the time, as well as David Clarke.”²³ Finley’s complimentary 1974 review of Snodgrass’s *The Dark Age of Greece* (1971) emphasizes the deployment of questions – “historical questions, sociological questions” – in this work and embraces it as evidence, finally, of the turning of the tide in Greek archaeology.

It is, however, safe to say that his admiration for the changes wrought by this revolutionary new movement has escaped most readers of his work. “Archaeology and History” was his most extended discussion of processual archaeology, first published in 1971 and then only very slightly revised for *The Use and Abuse of History* in 1975. This short article lays out Finley’s main response to the New Archaeology and is the source of some of his most often quoted statements about the field in general:

there is sufficient evidence that identical artifacts and arrangements of artifacts can result from different socioeconomic arrangements of procurement, manufacture, or distribution. For example, we know from the chance preservation of accounts inscribed on stone, that the most delicate stone carving on the temple in Athens known as the Erechtheum was produced by free men and slaves working side by side at the end of the fifth century BC. Nothing in the material remains (the carving itself) could have told us that.²⁴

And again, shortly after for emphasis: “it is impossible to infer social arrangements or institutions, attitudes or beliefs from material objects alone.”²⁵ In the early 1970s, Finley felt very strongly that archaeological information was most relevant, and indeed critical, in situations where the historical record was most meager (as for the Greek Dark Age).²⁶ In short, one *must* turn to archaeological evidence when there were no texts available, but in situations like that archaeological material was fundamentally unable to provide information about values

²³ A. M. Snodgrass, personal communication.

²⁴ Finley 1975e: 90.

²⁵ Finley 1975e: 93.

²⁶ Finley 1975e: 93–4.

or ideas. Only texts could offer a framework within which the material evidence could be said to offer information about these aspects of human society.

This position appears to be a response to the aspect of processualism that argued for a divorce from history in every sense, and a move toward the social sciences. In doing so, Clarke and Binford argued for archaeology as a freestanding discipline in its own right with goals that had very little to do with the particular historical situation of a given material data set. The New Archaeology aimed to move as far as possible from the historical embeddedness of explanations offered by previous generations of archaeologists, with an emphasis on the analysis of process and systematics.

This deeply troubled Finley, who believed that the Young Turks of the processual movement went too far in carving a deep gulf between history and its subordinate (in Finley's analysis) field – archaeology – by insisting on the development of a separate epistemology. This division was complete anathema to Finley. His last writings on the subject in the second edition of *The Ancient Economy* (1985) and in *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (1986), published the year of his death, demonstrate how deeply he objected to the separation of archaeology and history, which he viewed as one field, that is history:

I believe it to be false to speak of the relationship between history and archaeology. At issue are not two qualitatively distinct disciplines but two kinds of evidence about the past, two kinds of historical evidence. There can thus be no question of the priority in general or the superiority of one type of evidence over the other; it all depends in each case on the evidence available and the particular questions to be answered.²⁷

In point of fact, archaeological evidence *by itself* never offered any significant or unproblematic insight into the past in Finley's published writing. His discussion of Etruscan evidence in his 1975 article is illuminating in this respect:

Despite some 10,000 more or less deciphered texts and a considerable, though late and distorted, Roman tradition behind them, assemblages of artifacts

²⁷ Finley 1985c: 20.

remain not only the base of all accounts but nearly the whole of the evidence. An Etruscan tomb is nothing more than an assemblage of artifacts, despite the sophistication of the technology or of the wall-paintings, so long as there is no adequate literary key to the conventions and values represented by the artifacts.²⁸

This dismissal has many parallels in Finley's writing – the discounting of Roman pottery as a meaningful and manageable source of information is a much-discussed example.²⁹ Finley simply could not allow that archaeological evidence might stand alone as a sufficiently unproblematic source of information on the ancient past without the aid of historical evidence, which (he allowed) potentially presented its own problems.³⁰

In his 1985 appendix to second edition of *The Ancient Economy* he went very far indeed in arguing for the subordination of archaeological evidence to historical sources and never appreciated the degree to which the new, post-processual approaches to archaeology emerging at that time were sympathetic in spirit to some of the same forces that Finley prioritized in his own work, especially in the *Ancient Economy*.³¹ The emphasis of many post-processual scholars on questions of agency, discourse, and ideology in the formation of the material record were sympathetic to the factors Finley saw as organizing ancient economic behavior, but this was not of interest to Finley or came too late.

It can even be argued that his critique of processualism anticipated the post-processualism of the 1980s, which returned to specific contexts (rather than systems) for its explanatory models, and the social archaeology of the 1990s, which engaged with questions of individual experience. Yet even in the turn away from processual archaeology, archaeologists continued to insist on the necessity of a theoretical approach that derived meaning directly from material objects alone and not necessarily in relation to textual sources. But Finley believed – on a fundamental level – that this kind of information simply could

²⁸ Finley 1975e: 93–4.

²⁹ Finley 1985c: 23ff. See Storey 1999; Greene 2000, among many.

³⁰ Finley 1985c.

³¹ For example, Hodder 1982, 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1987.

not be drawn out of material culture, but only from textual sources. In his writing, he simply wanted archaeologists to do more in the way of providing quantifiable data – hard numbers, as it were – that could then be digested by the historian and incorporated into the models he was building, and he had little patience for the (in his view) unnecessary theorizing of archaeologists. Finley’s archaeology “does service” for history and is not on its own capable of offering alternative narratives that challenge the historical record.³² By his death in 1986, it is clear that Finley’s position on archaeology had soured and hardened.

Finley and Archaeology at Cambridge

Finley’s published positions on archaeology have had a long and potent afterlife, particularly as touchstones for historians who sincerely grapple with the impenetrability of archaeological publications and for those who share his view of archaeology as an uncooperative sub-field of history. However, there is much to be gained by also assessing Finley’s relationship to and effects on archaeology in the particular institutional context of Cambridge during the decades of his residence there. This account relies on the recollections and perspectives of archaeologists and curators who were Finley’s contemporaries, as well as the published acknowledgements of his relationships with fellow scholars in the faculties of Classics, History, and Archaeology.³³

In their testimony and through the recollections of others’ interactions with Moses Finley, it is abundantly clear that there is a significant difference between what Finley wrote about archaeology and his actions in Cambridge and in other contexts as well, particularly his role as a trustee of the British

³² D. Mattingly, personal communication. See [Snodgrass 1985](#) for a perceptive real-time engagement with this archaeology–history debate from within Cambridge circles and [Small 1995](#) for a summary of the extended discussion that took place around these issues in the decade following Finley’s death.

³³ I would like gratefully to acknowledge the input I received from Susan Walker, Paul Halstead, and Anthony Snodgrass, in particular, who graciously spoke to me in person and by email about their experiences with Finley during these years.

Museum. Finley is remembered by some of his contemporaries as a great advocate for archaeology, a collaborator and a mentor for young archaeologists especially in the 1970s and 1980s, precisely when he was writing his most impassioned rebuttals of the New Archaeology.

In the period before and immediately after the publication of the *World of Odysseus* (1954), Finley's close friendship with the Greek archaeologist R. M. Cook (Laurence Reader 1945–61 and later Laurence Professor at Cambridge 1962–76) seems to have been a formative influence. Near neighbors, Cook and Finley were by many accounts close friends. Their mutual admiration for each other's scholarship is preserved in the continuous acknowledgements found in their books and articles throughout the 1960s.³⁴ Cook seems not to have published anything after the early 1960s which Moses Finley did not read at least in part and it is tempting to see in his expansive *The Greeks till Alexander* (1961) the influence of Finley's wide-ranging mind if not his scholarly approach. For his part, Finley's references to Cook's ideas are spread throughout his work in the 1960s and 1970s and he seems to have drawn from Cook's work on Greek pottery as a laboratory for his own thinking on the role and importance of archaeology in the writing of history. Finley, characteristically, is not uniformly complimentary.

Upon Cook's retirement in 1976, Finley took an active role in the preservation of the Laurence chair (which even some of the senior figures in the Cambridge Classics Faculty wished to see discontinued) and his support for the hiring of Anthony Snodgrass in 1976 over more established (and conservative) candidates demonstrates his commitment to embracing and fostering some of the archaeological scholarship which he criticized in print. His admiration for David Clarke, Colin Renfrew, and Ian Hodder have already been mentioned. Clarke, who died in 1976, was a particular target in "Archaeology and History" but was by at least one account much admired by

³⁴ For example, Cook 1960, 1961, 1979; Finley 1965d, 1965e, 1971a.

Finley.³⁵ Others who suffered the sharp end of his pen – Colin Renfrew, Anthony Snodgrass himself – were ardently supported in the run of Cambridge life in ways both large and small. Snodgrass remembers it thus:

Far from running down archaeology, he was continually talking at faculty board in support and saying “for the first time in living memory, we have the opportunity to make Cambridge Classical Archaeology more progressive” and so on. In a way his actions and conduct proved that his support must have been vital in the decisive 1975/76 debate over retaining the Laurence Chair.³⁶

Finley was a particularly significant figure in the reorganization of the archaeology curriculum in 1978 and in support of the new species of fieldwork – survey archaeology – pursued by Snodgrass and his younger colleagues (e.g. John Cherry) and students, which he saw as having particular potential to illuminate the sorts of historical questions which Finley wanted to investigate.

Finley was also a remarkable figure in the pedagogical sense and it is important to emphasize that many archaeology students took papers with Finley³⁷ and had “productive experiences.”³⁸ Paul Halstead, who came to Cambridge in 1977 after Clarke’s death, remembers the atmosphere created by Finley in the following way:

It was very lucky for me, because when I arrived back in 1977, the archaeology department at Cambridge was fairly moribund. Higgs and David Clarke had both died, and nothing terribly exciting seemed to be happening there ... I was exposed to ... people doing economic ancient history under Moses Finley, which was immensely stimulating. Because of them, I gravitated towards Finley’s ancient economy research seminars in the Classics faculty. Finley had this really mindbogglingly strong group of postgrads from all over the world, really amazingly sharp people. They were immensely stimulating. The atmosphere Finley created was staggeringly stimulating. I think that for me was a very, very formative influence ...³⁹

The vitality of this time, and of Finley’s intellect, is palpable in this recollection, and indeed it is this electric, combative

³⁵ A. M. Snodgrass, personal communication.

³⁶ A. M. Snodgrass, personal communication.

³⁷ See Thompson’s essay in this volume.

³⁸ A. M. Snodgrass, personal communication.

³⁹ Halstead 1998.

atmosphere that seems to have been most remarkable. Halstead remembers Finley as “a bit dismissive of archaeology, but he was pretty dismissive in general – his street-fighter style.”⁴⁰ As late as 1984, Finley remained engaged with students in Cambridge archaeology; he is acknowledged as a reader by Ian Morris in his first published article, based on a paper given at the Theoretical Archaeology Group conference that year while he was still a PhD student at Cambridge.⁴¹

During this time, Finley also maintained a profile as an intellectual actor in other circles. Outside the context of the university, Susan Walker remembers Finley as a slight, smoking figure in a tan corduroy suit and shoes, standing in a sea of men all of whom “looked like David Cameron” at receptions in the British Museum. As a trustee, he was a great supporter of “innovative and forward-looking research” but a savage critic of old approaches and sloppiness.⁴² For example, his 1979 *New York Times* review of the Metropolitan Museum’s show “Greek Art of the Aegean Islands,” curated by Dietrich Von Bothmer, stands as an example of his willingness to also attack conservative figureheads in the museum world:

... some nagging doubts will not go away. The first is whether the responsible museum staffs, embroiled as they are in complex negotiations at ambassadorial and ministerial levels, thought hard about the theme (of the exhibition) itself ... The first section, “Art of the Early Cyclades,” included 22 items, all of which were produced before anyone who could conceivably have been called a Greek (or even a proto-Greek) had set foot in the Aegean. The Greekness of the next section or two is at best dubious. This kind of retrospective cultural imperialism is causing enough trouble in the world; there is no need to impose it on an exhibition.⁴³

This notice, not surprisingly, caused a paroxysm among the museum’s curatorial staff, surely its intended effect. His criticism of the Metropolitan Museum exhibition is of a piece with his treatment of conservative institutions more broadly and of

⁴⁰ P. Halstead, personal communication.

⁴¹ Morris 1986a.

⁴² S. Walker, personal communication.

⁴³ Finley 1979a. I am grateful for Susan Walker for referring me to this review.

his persona as a public consumer and critic of material presentations of the past.

Concluding Thoughts

The question remains why there was limited immediate response to his forays against archaeology – both culture-historical or processual, by art historians or archaeologists. John Boardman, for example, did not initially engage with Finley's criticisms directly. A 1970 review of Finley's *A History of Sicily* (1968) held only a mild rebuttal:

As an economic historian Finley is – and has to be – an incurable optimist about what might be deduced from available evidence. He is rightly sceptical about the value of archaeological evidence for information about trade, yet when it comes to some reconstructions of the economic or social motives behind various events his sources are no weightier. And since the archaeological evidence is fairly generous, we may regret that better use was not made of what it can tell of colonial Greek taste. That is history too.

Boardman's 1973 short "New Work in Greek Archaeology" review article in *Encounter* was his most aggressive response to processual archaeology, taking Renfrew's work as a particular target along with others. His sniffing dismissal of models – "archaeology is still rather dazzled at the trappings of science" – and defense of the art historian's synthetic methods certainly had the effect of concentrating Finley's ire more specifically on Boardman, as was discussed above, but it was not a response to Finley *per se*.

Most rebuttals of Finley from within the field of archaeology (rather than art history or history) have come in the 1990s or later as his legacy has been assessed and reassessed by the generations of his students and their students. At the time of publication, his books were very seldom reviewed in archaeological journals. Perhaps his intellectual sympathy with his targets is one of the reasons that so much of Finley's writing on archaeology stimulated little or no direct reaction from his archaeological contemporaries at Cambridge, beyond the rebuttal from Snodgrass in 1985's *Greek Archaeology and*

Greek History (and this came rather later).⁴⁴ Still, much of what Finley wrote about archaeology reads like one part of a dialogue – a Socratic exercise that elicited no response from its object but still today hangs in the atmosphere, obscuring its support for the field and for many of the individuals whose scholarship he critiqued.

In recent decades, however, the special enduring force of Finley's critique of the use of archaeological data in assessments of the ancient economy has become clear. His final dismissal of archaeology in the 1985 edition of the *Ancient Economy* provoked a rebuttal of Finley's minimalism which is still unfolding. Kevin Greene's *Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (1986) was an early and critical attempt to demonstrate what archaeology, specifically processual archaeology, could contribute to these debates and to make a case for increased productivity as a feature of the Roman economy.⁴⁵ Greene has continued to engage with Finley's legacy and argues for the necessity of a dynamic and theoretically independent archaeology of ancient economic behavior as well as for the central place of archaeological data in any reconstruction of the Roman economy.⁴⁶

Although an updated *Archaeology of the Roman Economy* would have to bear a less positivist and empirical title, its overall conclusion would be that the optimistic views expressed in 1986 have been amplified by the quality and diversity of subsequent archaeological discoveries and publications. Further work on settlement types, population levels, transport, technical infrastructure and ordinary artefacts such as domestic ceramics has reinforced my conclusion that the levels of economic activity and complexity of production found in the Roman provinces was not matched again until the postmedieval period.⁴⁷

Greene's essential position about the significance of quantifiable archaeological data and the necessity of theoretically sophisticated model building has been echoed by other archaeologists, who continue to argue for a place at the table in the construction of specific and overarching narratives about ancient

⁴⁴ Snodgrass 1985. See also Snodgrass 2002.

⁴⁵ Greene 1986, reviewed by Frier 1989.

⁴⁶ Greene 2000 and especially 2006.

⁴⁷ Greene 2006: 132.

economic behaviors and development.⁴⁸ Archaeologists make an especially effective case when they engage with limited data sets that poke holes in one of Finley's more encompassing pronouncements – the consumer city, for example – and at the same time clearly acknowledge the limitations of the archaeological data.⁴⁹ Alongside these more targeted studies, broader syntheses of archaeological evidence have been brought to bear on questions of agricultural production, exchange, and urbanization – all central questions for the study of ancient economic behaviors.⁵⁰ It is an oft-repeated chestnut that archaeology is the only source of new information on the ancient economy, and thus “a principal means of escaping established assumptions and tired arguments.”⁵¹

It seems clear from recent scholarship that the relationship between archaeology and history cannot escape the terms (and to some extent the tone) articulated in Finley's later works. Many archaeologists during his lifetime and today agree in principle with Finley's main critique of the culture-historical mode of archaeological inquiry that dominated the first half of the twentieth century, and with many of his objections to the New Archaeology that came to dominate archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s. Unfortunately, Finley's totalizing tack in his criticism and assault on the field as a whole, in such a typically polemical way, have made it hard to salvage anything from the wreck. He makes too convenient a foil for archaeology

⁴⁸ Parkins and Smith 1998; Mattingly and Salmon 2001; Morris 2005, among others.

⁴⁹ Wilson 2001, for example. These kinds of studies demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that archaeology has something to contribute, but what they do not often do is set a new agenda for the study of the past. This would please Finley since the questions that classical archaeology often serves are at root ones derived from historical narratives, which he would have viewed as the right order of things. For example, a recent initiative in the study of the Roman economy has set the ambitious goal of bringing together comprehensive data sets – both archaeological and textual – for the study of key facets of the Roman economy and setting them side by side, with the professed aim being “to integrate and correlate archaeological and documentary evidence where possible.” Bowman and Wilson 2009: 3.

⁵⁰ The *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (2007) is notable for its inclusion of chapters authored by scholars with a range of disciplinary perspectives who deploy archaeological data to address questions central to the study of the ancient economy. See for example chapters in that volume by Bennet, Morris, Dietler, Osborne, and Alcock.

⁵¹ Alcock 2007.

and a gleeful spokesman for historians who secretly, or not so secretly, agree with some of his more sweeping pronouncements. The contextual nuance of his positions on archaeology are largely obscured, when they are mentioned at all. His support for archaeology and archaeologists at Cambridge and elsewhere at moments when his backing was crucial and constructive has likewise not been part of the larger narrative, and this aspect of his relationship to archaeology deserves to be highlighted more, even though it does not, ultimately, rehabilitate Finley entirely.

CHAPTER 14

FINLEY'S IMPACT ON THE CONTINENT

WILFRIED NIPPEL

I have, in a sense, to accomplish an impossible mission. Trying to consider Finley's whole impact on the Continent would imply to assess his impact in France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, Germany (two quite different German states indeed), countries of the Soviet bloc etc. with respect to all aspects of his work. That would not only demand the knowledge of all relevant scholarly publications but also of the diverse university systems, the role of Classical Studies and Ancient History, and the respective, often changing, political conditions for a period of about thirty years – if only Finley's impact during his lifetime would be taken into account. And, finally, one would need to point out the differences between national contexts on the one hand, and the common 'Continental' aspects on the other. But can we assume that there are common features of Finley's impact due to the fact that there was not only the great split between Western and Eastern Europe but also great differences in Western Europe with respect to the political and intellectual climate? That is obvious with regard to the role of Marxism. There were, for example, almost no Marxists in university positions teaching history and Classics in West Germany, whereas there were strong Communist parties, including many scholars and well-known public intellectuals, in France and Italy.

It is also a contentious issue whether the response to Finley's writings in Continental Europe was quite different from that in Britain and the USA. And was it just the same in Britain, the USA and other parts of the anglophone world? Given the fact that Finley's leading ideas were so deeply founded in continental, especially German traditions, is not his impact in Britain

perhaps more astonishing than in the rest of Europe, especially as Ancient History and Classical Studies in Britain were probably more traditionally orientated than in some other countries?

All these fundamental questions make clear that I can only give a very imperfect account of Finley's impact on the Continent based on selective reading and make suggestions of varying quality, some of them being hopefully sober, some being more speculative.

I would suggest that there was at least one common pattern of reaction, coming from a certain type of ancient historian or classicist that one can find all over the world – let's call them traditionalists. They had difficulties in coping with someone who discussed and adopted the theories of social sciences. Specialists in any field affected by Finley's work were often at a loss when confronted with the ideal types and generalisations put forward in his essays, lecture series etc. but (apart from *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*) not propounded in massive scholarly monographs with the respective apparatus. If one reads a sample of reviews on Finley's books a certain pattern can be found: 'thought-provoking, will surely stimulate further scholarly work, but the example mentioned on page X would need more differentiation and there are great lacunae (in brackets: especially in my own field of expertise and that I'll now demonstrate in some detail)'. This type of reaction was irrespective of nationality or residence of the reviewer.

Equally universal was the opposite reaction, the great success of Finley's works among students, younger scholars and the so-called general public in the Anglo-Saxon world and the numerous countries where several of his books were translated. It depended on the literary quality and moderate size of the books, his addressing questions of actual concern, his cutting a way through the jungle of scholarly productions in various languages by magisterially saying what was worth reading and what was not, in the latter case accompanied by a quotation that was a kiss of death. That was fun, saved time and provided the youthful scholar with, at best, a vague knowledge of the materials and the problems of their interpretation, a certain feeling of superiority over the dogged fact-grubbers who were

not able to see the wood for the trees. Of course, I am speaking of my own experience.

A general problem of Finley's work was, however, that he was quite reluctant to discuss his own intellectual indebtedness, although often pointing out the (even if unconscious) theoretical and/or political implications of other scholars' work. I can only state this without being able to offer a convincing explanation.¹ The reference to Marcel Mauss's theory of gift exchange was only made in a paper² twenty years after the publication of *The World of Odysseus*; the paper 'The Ancient City: from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond',³ published four years after *The Ancient Economy*, was probably a reaction to the embarrassment and anger his Weberian approach had provoked among Marxists. In some cases the scholars Finley was implicitly attacking were not mentioned at all; in *The World of Odysseus* there is a casual remark against unnamed authors who wanted to find survivals from the age of matriarchy; we can surely add 'in the tradition of Lewis H. Morgan and Friedrich Engels' and even more speculatively that the book had also been an implicit rebuttal of George Thomson's work on early Greece.⁴

I guess that Finley's success in some countries was partly due to the fact that there were interpreters in a figurative sense, befriended colleagues who presented his work to the respective national public and sometimes fitted it to contexts that Finley himself had not addressed but which the corresponding

¹ That may be due to his attitude that the wealth of theoretical considerations could only be proven by successful application to the sources, his intention to address a general public and perhaps also to present himself as a 'pure' scholar when he restarted his academic career in England from the mid-1950s on.

² Finley 1974f: 16: 'Twenty years ago I showed that gift-giving in the Homeric society is consistent, I might even say absolutely consistent, with the analysis made by Mauss (who, curiously, ignored the ancient Greeks in his study).' But Finley might also have been informed about the importance of gift-giving by the tradition of economic anthropology from Karl Bücher via Bronislaw Malinowski (who is indeed quoted in *The World of Odysseus*) to Karl Polanyi; see Wagner-Hasel 2005: 205f. On the difficulty of defining the influence of Mauss, Malinowski and others see also Hornblower 2004.

³ Finley 1977b.

⁴ Finley 1972: 103; that Thomson was the real subject of this criticism is suggested by Wagner-Hasel 2005: 209f.

public was better acquainted with. An obvious case is Pierre Vidal-Naquet in France. In 1965, Vidal-Naquet published (on his own initiative) an article of about thirty-five pages on Finley's various contributions to Greek economy and society which offered a coherent picture and stressed Finley's achievements by offering a *tour d'horizon* through the bulk of scholarly literature on this subject.⁵ Early Greece had been a subject that could rather easily be assigned to a certain tradition of French scholarship from Louis Gernet (who had published a review of *The World of Odysseus*) and Jean-Pierre Vernant to Vidal-Naquet himself. Momigliano has suggested that Finley and the Vernant school could consider each other as complementary; Finley being more interested in the material aspects and the rationality of Greek civilization, the French scholars in myths, rituals and the irrational aspects.⁶ One can at least say that probably there was not any constellation for competition or struggle about intellectual hegemony.

When Finley's *Democracy, Ancient and Modern* was to be published in a French version, which appeared in 1976, Finley asked Vidal-Naquet to write a preface in order to *franciser* the book.⁷ Finley's book had originated from lectures he had delivered at Rutgers University in 1972, and 'modern democracy' was predominantly treated with respect to the USA. Finley took issue especially with those American political scientists who declared that democracy only meant that citizens could make a free decision between competing elites and should otherwise mind their own business.

Vidal-Naquet apparently had great difficulties to find French equivalents to those Anglo-American theorists whom Finley had attacked; but then he was content to see that the political scientist Julien Freund had criticised the French 1968 movement for mistaking the sense of democracy; according to

⁵ In his memoirs Vidal-Naquet (1998: 171f.) later recorded that he had detected the importance of Finley's work in preparation for his own article on Homer and Mycenaean society (Vidal-Naquet 1963) and thus decided to acquaint the French public with this author; in preparing his essay on Finley he contacted him for the first time.

⁶ Momigliano 1980b: 320f.

⁷ Vidal-Naquet 2000: 219.

Freund, democracy was only a political system and demands for democratisation of society, economy, universities etc. would inevitably lead to its destruction as one could learn from Plato's analysis that the licentiousness of democracy would end up in tyranny.⁸ Not surprisingly, after the publication of Finley's book in France, Freund published a review in which he attacked Finley (and Vidal-Naquet) for distributing illusions about democracy, and added that the disastrous effects of such a misconception of democracy had been experienced in France in 1968.⁹ The transition into a French post-1968 debate had worked out.

Vidal-Naquet's reference to this point was, however, apparently not enough for a preface. He carried on for some twenty pages to discuss the reception of Athens and Sparta in the French Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the post-revolutionary debate on the supposed Sparta-imitation of the Jacobins, including famous statements by Benjamin Constant, Karl Marx and Fustel de Coulanges. Again that had nothing to do with Finley's text,¹⁰ but it must have been attractive for a public for which the assessment of the Great Revolution was of everlasting concern.

Vidal-Naquet (1930–2006) was not just a distinguished classical scholar; he was a public intellectual known for revealing torture and atrocities in France's war in Algeria and his fervent support for the 1968 student movement.¹¹ According to his own statement, the writing of a preface for Finley's book constituted for Vidal-Naquet the very first examination of the history of the reception and the history of scholarship – topics he would deal with in further works.¹² I guess that a paradoxical and lasting impact of Finley was to foster the boom of such studies – a point to which I will return later.

⁸ Vidal-Naquet 2000: 200f. In the 1940s, Julien Freund had been a member of a communist underground group that had attempted to assassinate members of the Vichy government; see Freund's (1988: 397) autobiographical statement. In his post-war writings he had always been a champion of a strong state, and was one of the first to familiarise a French public with the work of Carl Schmitt.

⁹ Freund 1976.

¹⁰ Accordingly, Hemmerdinger 1976 wrote a review of this preface.

¹¹ Schmitt Pantel 2003.

¹² Vidal-Naquet 1995: 3.

In order to explain Finley's work to a French public, the interview François Hartog made with him should also be mentioned; it was published in a French collection of Finley's essays in 1981 and is manifestly the most informative statement made by him on his own intellectual biography.

Finley's request to Vidal-Naquet was perhaps already a reaction to his experience with the Italian translation of *Democracy, Ancient and Modern*, which had appeared already in 1973, almost simultaneously with the English original. Diego Lanza opened a lengthy review in the journal *Belfagor* (1974) by complaining that Finley's attack on American political scientists was totally irrelevant for an Italian readership and then criticising Finley for rejecting Marxist class theory with respect to antiquity and not embarking on an analysis of class domination in modern bourgeois society. In his reply in the same journal (1975) Finley correctly pointed out that Lanza had not properly reviewed the book, but written on the book he would have liked to read instead.¹³ Finley also wrote that he had indeed mentioned that the origins of the elite theory go back to authors like Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert(o) Michels¹⁴ – which is a partly Italian background.

Finley made clear that Lanza should have better established this connection with Italian political culture. This is backed up by a remark in Finley's preface to the German edition, which appeared in 1980. He explained the focus on Anglo-American debates with the origin of the book; expanding it to other contexts would have meant to completely rewrite it. But he had no doubt 'that German readers could easily make the necessary "translations" for themselves'.¹⁵ After all, he continued, the elitist theory of democracy had originated in the early

¹³ Finley 1975a.

¹⁴ As an engaged socialist young Michels (1876–1936) had no chance to be accepted for *Habilitation* at a German university. He got a position (equivalent to a *Privatdozentur*) at Torino in 1907 (under the auspices of Achille Loria). He became an Italian citizen in 1913. From 1914 onwards he held a professorship in Basel. Being meanwhile an ardent supporter of Mussolini, he was appointed as professor in Perugia in 1928. Michels's famous work on the 'iron law of oligarchy' (Michels 1911) had been published in pre-war Germany and was based on observations on the German Social Democratic Party and trade unions.

¹⁵ Finley 1980c: 5.

twentieth century in Germany, Austria and Italy, as it can be seen in the works of Michels, Pareto, Mosca and Joseph Schumpeter. Schumpeter's classic, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, had been published in 1942, and received several editions afterwards. Schumpeter is not presented as the Harvard professor he had been since 1932, but with respect to his Austrian and German past.¹⁶ The hint to the Italian tradition is repeated in the preface to the second Italian edition of 1982,¹⁷ which included a postscript by Finley's friend Carmine Ampolo, putting Finley's work in perspective and refuting Lanza's criticism. By the way, in the German edition (1980) a translation of Momigliano's review article (1975) in *New York Review of Books* was used as a postscript, reprinted in Momigliano's *Sesto Contributo* five years later. That may be an indication that at this time in West Germany there was not any 'Finleyan' available.¹⁸ (This point will be taken up later.)

The Lanza–Finley clash had further implications. Lanza had mentioned that Finley's lectures at Rutgers University were a return to his home university without saying that this occasion was a sort of reparation. In his reply Finley stated that he had been sacked from Rutgers University in 1952 due to his refusal to collaborate with the senatorial committee; there are only two lines on it. However, Finley had revealed more of his personal experience with the investigations against 'un-American activities' in a review article, published in *New Statesman* in February 1969, in which he also mentioned false accusations by (his former friend) Karl August Wittfogel.¹⁹ As far as I know these are the only public statements of Finley on this affair, and there was always a mystery about his American years and the circumstances which forced him to leave the USA. But everybody knew that Finley had been a 'victim of McCarthyism',

¹⁶ Schumpeter (1883–1950) had been professor of economics in Graz (1911–21) and Bonn (from 1925 onwards) and had served as Austrian Minister of Finance for a couple of months in 1919.

¹⁷ Finley 1982c: vii.

¹⁸ On Finley and Momigliano see Chapter 10 in this volume.

¹⁹ Finley 1969. Finley had privately passed this information to Vidal-Naquet a couple of years before when both came into close contact (see above). Vidal-Naquet made some allusions to Wittfogel's role during the senatorial investigations in 1951 and

which gave him special credit with leftists and made him suspect in politically conservative circles, which always wondered whether he had really been a Communist/Marxist, whether he still was one and if so, Marxist in which sense? Estimates of Finley's political position and his personal fate, (un)informed whichever way,²⁰ were probably of greater importance for the reception of his writings in several European countries than in the United Kingdom.²¹

There is, however, the paradox that the British public had an obvious advantage to learn about Finley's political opinions since there were several remarks about them in his reviews for the *Times Literary Supplement*, *New Statesman*, *Spectator* and the BBC broadcasts printed in *The Listener* – texts scholars in other countries were not likely to register and which they often became aware of only by Shaw and Saller's introduction to and the bibliography in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* in 1981.²²

I like the 1967 *Listener* article on class struggle in particular, in which Finley says: 'Marxism is built into my intellectual experience, what the Greeks would have called my *paideia*.' He protested against identifying Marxism with Soviet dogmatism (and politics), praised Marx's historical analysis as taking into account the totality of social life in its relationship with economic factors but also pointed out that there were only scattered remarks of Marx on the ancient world. 'Marx's

his turn from Stalinist to cold warrior in an article (Vidal-Naquet 1964) that was also used as a preface to a translation of Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism* by the French publisher. That led to a nasty row between Wittfogel, Vidal-Naquet and the publisher which overshadowed any discussion of the merits and shortcomings of Wittfogel's work and its relevance for the reopened debate on the 'Asiatic Mode of Production'. For details see Ulmen 1978: 416–20 (from Wittfogel's point of view) and Vidal-Naquet's own record: Vidal-Naquet 1990; 1998: 200–2. On Wittfogel's testimony against Finley see Schrecker 1986: 161ff.; Tompkins 2006: 110ff.

²⁰ It is only the thorough enquiries of Tompkins (2006 and 2013) that have shed light on Finley's American period and corrected a number of alleged biographical 'facts' which had been taken over uncritically from one author to the other.

²¹ I cannot provide any suggestions concerning the importance of this aspect about Finley's impact in the USA.

²² That does not apply to those *Listener* pieces on proper classical subjects, collected in Finley's *Aspects of Antiquity* (1968b), but to a number of texts relating to a variety of historical and political themes. For Finley's journalism more generally see Chapter 8 in this volume.

specific analysis of the mechanics of the capitalist mode of production is almost totally irrelevant to the study of ancient society, whereas the method of analysis is illuminating.’ The result should be an inversion of the famous opening sentence of the Communist Manifesto: ‘A central question is why the history of all hitherto existing society is so often the history of the absence of class struggles or of their abortive nature.’ But, he continued, any treatment of the ancient world had to take into account the overall importance of slavery and should not ignore it, as was done in Hermann Bengtson’s *Griechische Geschichte*.²³

Finley’s war on two fronts – against an idealisation of antiquity including downplaying slavery on the one hand, and the dogmatic Marxist interpretation on the other – was the background to his scholarly articles since the late 1950s. But it was more of a hidden agenda, probably not easily detectable for scholars primarily interested in the ‘facts’ about antiquity. According to Finley the subject of ancient slavery should no longer be the battleground between Marxists and non-Marxists,²⁴ which also implied the message to the anti-Marxists: do not believe that you hit the essence of Karl Marx’s method by demolishing later dogmatic statements on ancient slavery. Finley wanted to get rid of the ‘numbers game’ (as if the economic and societal importance of slavery could be inferred from the number of slaves), reduced the importance of slave insurrections, used the evidence of modern slavery to demolish the dogma that there cannot be any natural reproduction of a slave population, doubted that ancient slave owners were used to make a rational calculation on the respective productivity of slave labour, other forms of unfree and formally free labour, explained the relative decline of slavery during the Roman empire with changes in the political system and pleaded for the ‘spectrum of statuses’ instead of using the class terminology.

²³ Finley 1967. Bengtson was also criticised by Finley in another context as representative of a positivism that indulged in self-deception about ‘objectivity’; Finley 1985a: 4 (The respective paper had been published in 1977).

²⁴ Finley 1959: 160f.

That should have been a bitter pill to swallow for those who believed, or had to pretend to believe, in ancient 'slaveholder society' as a stage of economic progress. But already in 1960 the Czech scholar Pavel Oliva published a short article in the *Acta Antiqua* of the Hungarian Academy commenting on Chester Starr's piece of 1958, 'An Overdose of Slavery', and Finley's 1959 article 'Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?'²⁵ Oliva took them as proof that bourgeois historiography had learned to take Marxian scholarship seriously, welcomed that Finley wanted to overcome the anti-Marxist bias of scholars like Starr, qualified some of Finley's statements and stated finally that 'objective results' could only be achieved if one relied 'on the objective laws of history' that had been formulated in historical materialism.²⁶

This conclusion is not really surprising. All in all, I would take this article (and Finley's answer) as indicating (growing) acceptance of Finley's plea for ideological disarmament.²⁷ Eastern European scholars at that time were still struggling to overcome Stalin's fixation on economic formations, which demanded a slave revolution to achieve the transition from ancient slaveholder society to feudalism, a position some factions tried to maintain till the 1970s. This is also evident in East Germany, where Rigobert Günther in Leipzig stubbornly defended this theory against the flexibility advocated by Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf (and later Heinz Kreissig) in Berlin.²⁸ It is certain that Finley had a great impact on helping scholars in East Germany and Eastern Europe to get rid of dogmatic fetters, though it will not necessarily be found fully documented in those published texts in which scholarship with quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin still prevailed, according to the rule that 'if you doubt a

²⁵ Starr 1958; Finley 1959.

²⁶ Oliva 1960.

²⁷ In his reply, Finley 1961 only took up the point that our knowledge about 'slave breeding' in nineteenth-century USA speaks against the assumption of an 'iron law of demography' (in the sense that there could not be any natural reproduction of a slave population). Oliva 1970 on various forms of labour in the Greek world (with several references to contributions by Finley) avoids all ideological issues.

²⁸ For ample information on the development of Ancient History within GDR see Willing 1991 and Stark 2005.

passage from Holy Scripture, better quote another one to insure yourself against the reproach of heresy'. The influence of Finley's work, his personal contacts and correspondences with several scholars behind the Iron Curtain were probably much greater than the respective publications reveal. But they could always refer to Finley as someone who at least had sympathy with Marxism, who could be considered as a 'progressive historian' and who could not be dismissed as a 'NATO-ideologue'. The political climate had changed as a consequence of de-Stalinization.²⁹ There was the impact of the 1953 publication of Marx's *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*,³⁰ which showed a differentiated picture in relation to pre-capitalist economies.³¹ In the 1960s, it allowed the revival of the 'Asiatic mode of production', which had been anathematised by Stalin and was then used to give up the dogma of slaveholder society as a universal phenomenon.³²

Presumably the feeling that his success as a bridge-builder between ideological camps was endangered led Finley in 1975 to a heavy attack on Joseph Vogt and the slavery project of the Mainz Academy on occasion of the translation (by Thomas

²⁹ The East German party leader Walter Ulbricht formulated it beautifully in March 1956: 'Comrade Stalin is no longer a classic'; Kowalczyk 1997: 139.

³⁰ The previous Moscow publication of 1939/41 went almost unnoticed due to the circumstances of the time. Thus, Marx's (unfinished) text became available only in the 1950s and made a tremendous impact owing to ensuing translations into a number of languages; see the contributions in Musto 2008.

³¹ Finley 1975c made this point in a review of two books by Perry Anderson: 'The *Grundrisse* ... is helping many Marxists to free themselves at last from the shackles of the simple, unworkable unilinear evolutionary model of human history that had been imposed as an unchallengeable orthodoxy.'

³² I cannot go into details of a complicated discussion, with an inextricable mixture of scholarly and political argumentation, which included a number of disciplines. Suffice it to say that in Ancient History Pečírka 1964 and 1967 played a leading role in this discussion and that he referred to the importance of Finley's 'spectrum of statuses'; Pečírka 1967: 170ff. (The importance of Finley for Pečírka's studies in Athenian land tenure can be seen in Pečírka 1963 and in a number of his subsequent writings.) Finley appreciated that the flood of literature which detected the 'Asiatic Mode of Production' all over the world destroyed the dogma of the 'slave mode of production' as a universal stage and an adequate label for the ancient economy, but he denied the analytical value of the 'Asiatic Mode of Production'; Finley 1985c: 214, n. 39; 245, n. 11; see already his reservations in a review essay on Marx and Asia, Finley 1965c.

Wiedemann) of Vogt's *Sklaverei und Humanität*.³³ It came all of a sudden, since previous works by Vogt had been reviewed rather mildly by Finley. Even in this review, though of course criticising the category of humanity as inappropriate, Finley said that Vogt's thoughtfulness was better than the mechanical fact-grubbing of other members of the Mainz group. But these dull antiquarians were at the same time denounced, using their work as an attack on Marxism; according to Finley they identified Marxism with the dogmatic rubbish of the Stalinist era which meanwhile was no longer accepted even in the Soviet Union, and thus were 'carrying on the Cold War in all its old virulence'. The statement is contradictory and not based on any evidence.³⁴ Finley himself mentioned that the Mainz project had translated monographs from Russian into German, and thus made these publications available for Western scholars (and, it should be added, regularly produced unbiased surveys on Russian publications on slavery).

This reproach developed into a fixed idea of Finley, as can be seen in the lectures in *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, delivered in the Collège de France in 1978.³⁵ The Mainz project, launched in 1950, is depicted as politically motivated from its very beginning. Vogt had indeed foreseen that there would be a challenge from the East, though the bulk of Russian publications on slaveholder society had not yet appeared.³⁶ However, his project was not appreciated by the mainstream of ancient historians in West German universities, who considered slavery to be a rather dull subject. But Finley imagined, by hindsight, a sort of concerted action on the West German side. He complained about Friedrich Vittinghoff's paper 'Die Theorie des historischen

³³ Finley 1975d. For the following passages on Finley versus Vogt, Vittinghoff and Backhaus compare the criticism of Finley by Christ 1983: 237ff., and Deissler 2010. See also Chapter 5 in this volume.

³⁴ Finley was upset by the publisher's blurb that the book was 'a reasoned refutation of more extreme Marxist interpretation', denied that Vogt had done this, but then proceeded to impute this as the intention of other (unnamed) members of the Mainz group.

³⁵ Finley 1998: 126–31.

³⁶ Heinen 2005: 372ff.

Materialismus über den antiken “Sklavenhalterstaat”’, which had been written in view of the International Congress of History in Stockholm 1960 and distributed by him there, whereas Vittinghoff (who did not belong to the Mainz group) was only assigned a short statement in the section on ancient slavery.³⁷ (Finley himself gave a full paper on the slave trade in the Black Sea and Danubian regions which was later published in the East German journal *Klio*.³⁸) At the height of the Cold War this congress took place in a highly politicised atmosphere; the recently founded association of East German historians was not yet accepted as a full member of the Comité International de Sciences Historiques due to the intervention of the West German side, so that East Germans could only participate in the discussions but not present papers.³⁹ This atmosphere also affected the Ancient History sections; Momigliano wrote later: ‘We [Finley and Momigliano] learned more about present-day politics than about ancient history.’⁴⁰ It is evident that Vittinghoff’s article was a well-aimed provocation and intended to put the Eastern side into the defensive. But I cannot see why its circulation should have been an attack on free debate⁴¹ or what should have been wrong with Vittinghoff’s texts. They carefully collected the statements of Marx and Engels and contrasted them with ‘the absurdities to be found in Soviet writing on the subject between 1933 and 1953’, as Finley put it.⁴² But

³⁷ This paper was later published in an expanded version, [Vittinghoff 1961](#). A full paper was given by Siegfried Lauffer, a participant of the Mainz project. It is not mentioned by Finley, though [Lauffer 1961](#): 382f. denied a qualitative difference between slave labour and free labour. According to the report by East German participants ([Günther and Schrot 1961](#): 154f.), Lauffer was attacked by delegates from the Soviet bloc for having idealised slavery and denied the slaves’ class struggle, whereas Finley made a statement on the necessity of differentiating between diverse forms of slave labour and of investigating other forms of dependent labour. In his final word Lauffer had emphasised the need for international cooperation on this subject.

³⁸ [Finley 1962b](#).

³⁹ [Erdmann 1987](#): 337ff.; [Cornelissen 2001](#): 452ff.

⁴⁰ [Momigliano 1987](#): 4.

⁴¹ That was not said by Finley, but in an essay on Finley by [Whittaker 1986](#): 10: ‘a ruthless attempt to suppress any Marxist commentary by pamphleteering the delegates in advance’.

⁴² [Finley 1998](#): 129.

Finley says Vittinghoff was aware that things were changing and thus wilfully sabotaged this development.

The Polish ancient historian Iza Biezuńska-Małowist wrote later that Vittinghoff had employed new perfidious tactics in using Marx and Engels to discredit Eastern European scholarship as not authentically Marxist, and that unfortunately no one had been prepared to counter it.⁴³ But that was an exception. The Stockholm Congress as a whole was afterwards celebrated in the Soviet bloc as a triumph of Marxist scholarship that had demonstrated once and for all its superiority over the bourgeois one. Finley's one-sided perspective is disturbing. Ernst Badian was probably right: Finley reacted as 'a survivor of 1960: an anti-anti-Marxist, whose battle-scars make it ... difficult for him to write meaningful *Forschungsgeschichte*'. Harry Pleket suggested that he had a 'strange psychological disposition'.⁴⁴

Finley carried on attacking Wilhelm Backhaus's book *Marx, Engels und die Sklaverei*, published in 1974 (not as a contribution to the Mainz project), which he interpreted as an assault on Marxism *in toto* by identifying it with Stalinist distortions. Firstly, Backhaus showed in detail that almost all statements by Marx and Engels on ancient slavery are remarks in passing concerning the context of the nineteenth-century discussion on North American slavery with special regard to the abolitionist literature by John Elliott Cairnes and others; and, secondly, that later orthodox Marxists had cut and pasted the Founding Fathers' scattered statements on antiquity by carefully eliminating the context, a practice which *inter alia* enabled them to impute that Marx had applied the sabotage theory (i.e. that slaves destroy their manuals) to antiquity. Backhaus had proved what Finley had indicated earlier with respect to Marx's *obiter dicta* on antiquity, but was attacked by Finley for not having written a book on enlightened Marxist positions.

⁴³ Erdmann 1987: 430f.

⁴⁴ Pleket 1982: 66f.

Backhaus's book had not found great resonance thus far.⁴⁵ That might have changed as a result of Finley's drawing attention to it. But in view of Finley's outstanding reputation at this time it seems probable that scholars potentially interested in its subject did not take the trouble to read Backhaus's book carefully, if at all.⁴⁶ The Mainz group was very concerned that their project would be labelled as a politically motivated enterprise, but preferred not to reply publicly, presumably since they would be fighting a losing battle.⁴⁷ Anyway, the damage to the project's international reputation was evident.⁴⁸

A peculiar aspect of Finley's impact is that many scholars tended to read certain books through Finley's eyes, or even relied on his judgement without their own reading. But in the longer run Finley's use of *Forschungsgeschichte* for vindication of or polemic against positions in current scholarship led to an enforced interest in the history of scholarship. That can especially be seen with respect to Max Weber.

It is well known that Finley's *Ancient Economy* and the subsequent article on the ancient city were often understood as a sort of outing as a Weberian,⁴⁹ and that this led to angry reactions by groups of Marxist ancient historians in France and Italy.⁵⁰ A further interesting point is the reaction in East Germany.⁵¹ The Berlin Academy organised a colloquium with

⁴⁵ The only review in an international journal I came across is the short (and unfriendly) one by Konstan 1976.

⁴⁶ This is probably also applicable to me. Later I realised the importance of Backhaus's book; Nippel 2005: 331ff., 2013: 297ff.

⁴⁷ See Deissler 2010: 89f., though the assumption about the motive not to react publicly is my own. Deissler mentions that attempts of Backhaus to publish a reply to Finley were rejected by the editors of *Historia* and *Ancient Society*. I cannot make any comment without any knowledge of Backhaus's draft and the respective correspondence.

⁴⁸ Wiedemann 2000: 155ff. As translator of Vogt's book Wiedemann had been a collateral victim of Finley's attack, but his impression of its effect in the anglophone academic world is corroborated by McKeown 2007: 30f.

⁴⁹ That Finley's approach to the ancient economy was indebted (partly via Hasebroek) to Weber could have been inferred from a number of his previous writings, but there was not enough knowledge of and interest in Weber's relevant writings, as Finley had stated in his essay of 1966 on 'unfreezing the classics' with respect to England (Finley 1966b).

⁵⁰ Momigliano 1980b: 319, 1987.

⁵¹ Finley's article on Aristotle and economic analysis had appeared in a German translation in an issue of the *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* which was a sort of Festschrift on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf; Finley 1971b.

Finley. But there were no published reactions to *The Ancient Economy*. Instead of a review by an East German or Eastern European scholar, *Klio* published only in 1978 a German translation of a three-year-old article from the journal *Rinascità*, the Italian Communist Party's organ for theoretical questions.⁵² Finley's alleged Weberian turn and anti-economic attitude was criticised in it. I guess that it was a sort of obligatory act which avoided East German scholars entering a polemic with Finley or a debate on Weber they were not prepared for (since Weber then was still considered an ideologue of the bourgeoisie). When the Finley–Marx–Weber debate reached a second round with Ste. Croix's *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (1981) there was again no notable reaction from the East German side (in contrast to West German statements).

Coming back to the Italian and French aspects, whereas the work of the Istituto Gramsci group showed how stimulating Finley's conception was, even if one would not subscribe to it, the reaction of the Besançon slavery research group pointed to the difficulty of giving up old battle orders. It is unquestionable that, on top of that, Finley stimulated a wave of Italian and French works on the ancient economy with quite different positions which cannot be simply assigned to ideological presuppositions.⁵³ And there was a boom in Finley secondary literature. Every new book was discussed in lengthy review essays; fascicles of journals were devoted to them. *Quaderni di Storia* published in 1979 a sketch of Finley's intellectual biography.⁵⁴ *OPUS, Rivista internazionale per la storia economica e sociale dell'antichità*, launched in 1982 (and ceased in 1991), could be called a 'Journal of Finley studies'.

All this also fostered a growing interest on Max Weber and his work on antiquity. Whereas in Italy there had been a long tradition of interest in Weber, which was now also taken up on the leftist side, in France Weber was almost unknown. There

⁵² Di Benedetto 1978.

⁵³ Momigliano 1987; Giardina 2007.

⁵⁴ De Sanctis 1979.

were no translations into French – and Weber is hard to read even for Germans. Many of the early statements by French scholars on Weber's theories concerning antiquity show that they were just relying on the points Finley had singled out, accompanied by an authoritative interpretation.⁵⁵ Of course, this is not only applicable to French scholars. Statements on the so-called Weberian 'consumer city' by scholars writing in English also reveal that they should better have said: 'I mean Finley's representation of Weber's views'. Finley's use of Weber was highly selective (and partly misleading), but stimulated over the longer term a new interest in Weber's early writings on antiquity that has led to a number of solid and comprehensive works in various languages. They are necessarily done in a Momigliano style of *Forschungsgeschichte*, which means, for better or worse, that the direct link to 'proper' Ancient History is lost.

I would like to provide a final word on Finley and West Germany, which I am supposed to know best, though it is probably a matter of self-deception. Of course, his work was always present, many books and articles were translated into German, but it is difficult to find substantive statements on his work as such. There was no German counterpart of Vidal-Naquet who could have pointed out that Finley was continuing many German scholarly traditions which were forgotten in Germany itself; there were, as far as I am aware, few personal contacts between Finley and senior West German scholars due to politically motivated reservations on both sides. There were no leading experts in ancient economic history; consequently German reviews on *The Ancient Economy* were not very substantive.⁵⁶

But the new interest in social and economic history (and the respective theoretical questions), a hallmark of West German historical scholarship since the 1970s, also affected ancient historians and inevitably fostered their interest in Finley's work and the international discussion it had provoked. When

⁵⁵ Bruhns 1997: 192f.

⁵⁶ Rilinger 1977; Kohns 1978; Günther 1979.

Christian Meier became president of the German Historical Association, he invited Finley to give the key address to the next *Historikertag* in autumn 1982. Finley was very pleased, as he said in the interview with François Hartog (and as I know from my talks with him at that time). Unfortunately, he was not able to do it because of his stroke in the summer of 1982, but in early 1984 he delivered two lectures (in German) in Munich on Meier's invitation which were immediately published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*.⁵⁷ That there was a new basis for debate was the result of more personal contacts, especially with younger West German scholars (including myself),⁵⁸ but also due to the fact that the later Finley was addressing the field of ancient politics, which was the traditional focus of German ancient historians. Meier wrote a friendly critical review of twelve pages on Finley's *Ancient Politics* in *Gnomon*.⁵⁹ Some passages of this were Meier on Meier but one has to contrast that with a review of half a page on *The World of Odysseus* published in the same journal some thirty years earlier.⁶⁰ (That is, of course, a disproportion with regard to the lasting scholarly weight of both books.)

As I said at the beginning, the foregoing considerations are not (and cannot be) an assessment of the importance of Finley's work in analogy to a *Forschungsbericht*. They only make some suggestions with respect to the corroborative factors which contributed to make Finley such an outstanding figure in the international scholarly community. His role as a bridge-builder between ideological camps and quite different cultural and scholarly traditions and communities was more important than some misjudgements.

⁵⁷ Finley 1984. (English versions in Finley 1985a, chs 4 and 5.)

⁵⁸ Compare Nippel 1982 with comments on Finley's conceptualisation of the ancient economy in comparison to the ideas of Karl Polanyi; Nippel 1987–9 on Finley and Weber; and Nippel 2006 for a general assessment of Finley's work.

⁵⁹ Meier 1986.

⁶⁰ Seyffert 1956.

CHAPTER 15

MEASURING FINLEY'S IMPACT

WALTER SCHEIDEL

Measuring Impact

What does it take to “measure” a scholar’s impact? The phrasing implies both quantification and comparison. Measuring relies on units of measurement, and any one person’s impact cannot be assessed without considering that which others have had. Much hinges on how we define “impact”: on peers’ thinking and writing, on the academic job market, on the perceptions of the general public? Different measurements are required to address these questions: of published scholarship, of the success of a mentor’s students, of the depth of penetration of the public sphere – reach of media appearances, numbers of books sold, extent of name recognition, and so on. Although many of these features may be measured in principle, in practice extraordinary effort would often be required to do so in any meaningful way, especially from a comparative angle. Conventional bibliometrics offers the most practicable approach.

The present survey relies on the citation index currently known as Thomson Reuter’s Web of Knowledge, which counts references to individual publications in articles that appeared in a large number of academic periodicals.¹ While use of this

¹ This survey is based on the “Arts and Humanities Citation Index” and the “Social Sciences Citation Index” of Thomson Reuter’s Web of Knowledge: www.webof-knowledge.com, with http://thomsonreuters.com/products_services/science/science_products/a-z/web_of_science/. Unless otherwise noted, citation counts reflect conditions in April 2012. Readers should note that this database is continuously being updated and citation counts are bound to change accordingly. I prefer these indices to the more broadly based but less precise citation scores provided by Google Scholar: cf. N. Pilkington’s 2013 working paper “Google Scholar and Web of Knowledge: Citation Scores for Ancient Historians” (www.academia.edu/3420110/Google_Scholar_and_the_Web_of_Knowledge_Citation_Scores_for_Ancient_Historians, accessed September 6, 2013).

index for the purpose of evaluating a scholar's performance and professional standing is standard practice in the natural sciences and most social sciences fields, scholars in the humanities commonly regard this tool with a great deal of reflexive skepticism, a skepticism that tends to be unencumbered by any actual hands-on experience.

Several concerns that have been raised in critical discussions of the citation index need to be taken into account in employing it for an evaluation of Finley's impact, but none of them discredits its use.² It is certainly problematic that the Arts and Humanities Citation Index covers only references found in journals published since 1975, a huge deficit compared to coverage in the natural and social sciences that commenced in 1898/9.³ This truncation of the bibliographical record in effect favors recent scholarship: publications that appeared before 1975 and were frequently cited soon after publication thus fail to receive the attention they deserve. However, this bias merely reinforces an even greater bias caused by the massive increase in overall publications in the decades since 1975.⁴ While scholars who were active before 1975 (a period covering all but the last eleven years of Finley's own career) are somewhat disadvantaged by the index's belated onset of coverage, they are even more disadvantaged by the relative scarcity of opportunities to be cited in earlier decades. Citation scores are not directly comparable over time not so much because of the

² For discussions of some of the problems, see C. Kosmopoulos and D. Pumain, "Citation, Citation, Citation: Bibliometrics, the Web and the Social Sciences and Humanities," *Cybergeog: European Journal of Geography*, Science et Toile, Article 411, December 17, 2007 (<http://cybergeog.revues.org/15463>); A. Baneyx, "'Publish or Perish' as Citation Metrics Used to Analyze Scientific Output in the Humanities: International Case Studies in Economics, Geography, Social Sciences, Philosophy, and History," *Archivum Immunologiae et Therapiae Experimentalis* 56 (2008), 363–71 (doi: 10.1007/s00005-008-0043-0); P. Jacso, "Testing the Calculation of a Realistic *h*-Index in Google Scholar, Scopus, and Web of Science," *Library Trends* 56 (2008), 785–815.

³ To rule out possible misunderstandings, I should stress that for the humanities it is only citations made prior to 1975 that are missing, not cited publications published before that date.

⁴ Documented by W. Scheidel, "Continuity and Change in Classical Scholarship: A Quantitative Survey, 1924 to 1992," *Ancient Society* 28 (1997) 265–89, esp. 267, fig. 1, drawing on a sampling of *L'Année Philologique*.

1975 index threshold as because of changes in the volume of published scholarship and hence citations in general, an issue that is by no means limited to the humanities.

The index only includes citations made in journal articles and omits those in books. In humanities disciplines, where books account for a sizeable share of the total page count, this substantially reduces the *number* of referenced citations without distorting the *distribution* of citation scores: there is no good reason to believe that scholars publishing in journals consistently cite academic works different from those cited by scholars writing books or chapters for edited volumes. This rules out the possibility of significant distortion of overall rankings.

The index privileges peer-reviewed journals and more generally those published in anglophone countries. In practical terms, this interferes with comparisons between scholars writing in English and those writing in other languages, who are likely to be underrepresented and consequently excluded from most of this survey. This does not affect assessments of Finley's work as such and still allows us to contextualize his impact within anglophone scholarship.

Beyond these rather technical points, critics might question the connection between citation and impact. As observed elsewhere in this volume, frequent references to a particular work do not necessarily coincide with close engagement with its contents (cf. [Chapters 4](#) and [11](#)). As a matter of fact, very high citation scores are more likely to reflect generic acknowledgment of “classics” than serious debate. Yet it would be perverse to interpret this phenomenon as a lack of impact: ubiquitous citation is a powerful marker of prestige, which in an academic context is hard to disentangle from (at the very least *past*) impact. The three most frequently cited humanities scholars – Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Pierre Bourdieu – are a case in point: profuse and often merely ritualistic citation of their work cannot be taken to mean that it has been lacking in impact.

In sum, while the citation index is an undeniably flawed measure of scholarly impact, it is nevertheless *a* measure, and suitable for assessing the work of an anglophone scholar most active from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Finley's Work

In a first step, we look at the overall distribution of references to Finley's publications. The breakdown in Figure 6 shows that almost two-thirds of all citations refer to ten books. If we transfer *The Use and Abuse of History* and *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, which consist of previously published articles, into the right-hand section for papers and minor books, citations are evenly split between the top eight books and the rest. This shows that although books dominate Finley's scholarly profile, articles have made a very considerable contribution to his overall impact.

A closer look at the ten most cited books reveals a clear lead for *The Ancient Economy* of 1973, followed by his initial break-out book *The World of Odysseus* of 1954. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* of 1980 takes the third place, followed by other books which are only gently differentiated in terms of rank (Fig. 7).

Adjustment for the time that has passed since (first) publication boosts *The Ancient Economy's* lead over all other volumes (Fig. 8). The drop of *The World of Odysseus* may in part be due to the 1975 threshold of the citation index, which helps

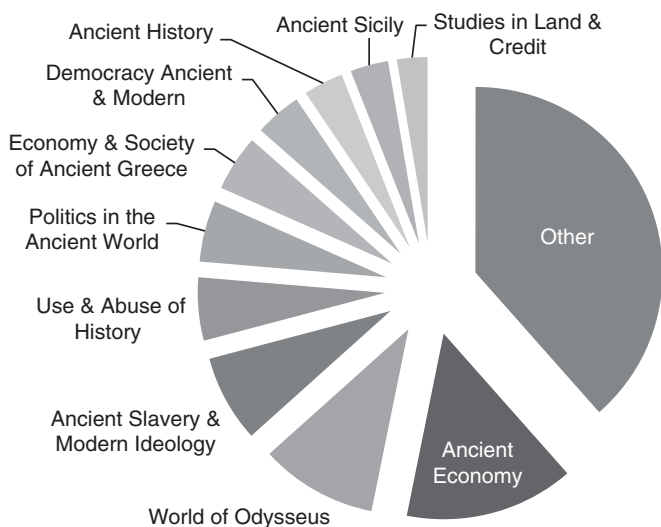


FIG. 6 Breakdown of citations to Finley's works.

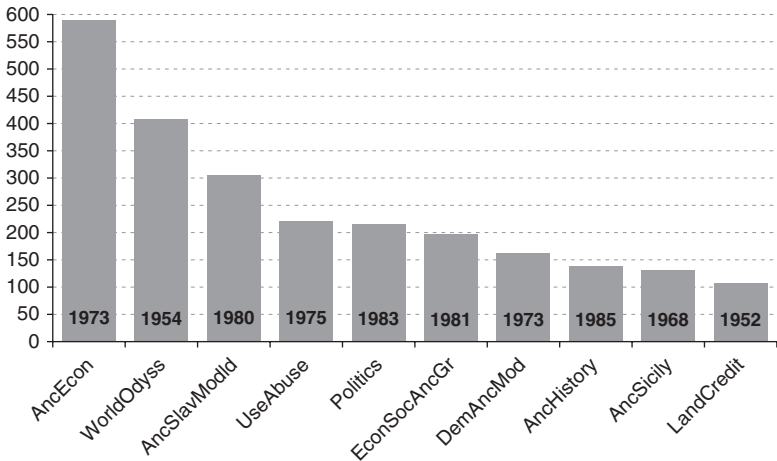


FIG. 7 Citation scores for Finley's ten most cited books, with years of publication.

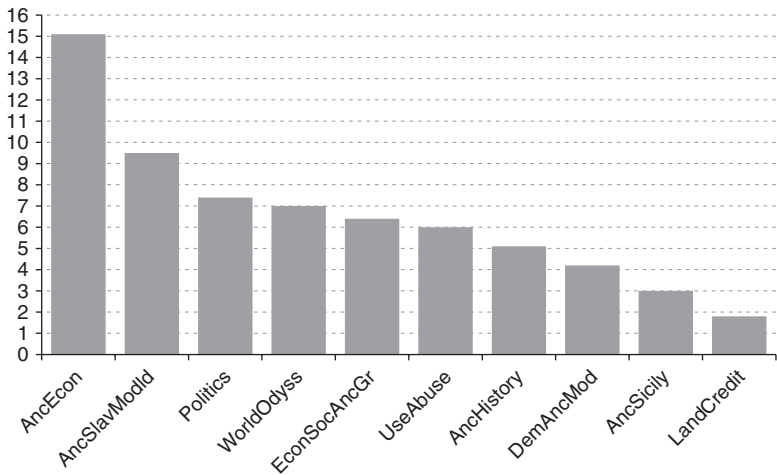


FIG. 8 Annualized citation scores for Finley's ten most cited books (from first publication date).

to explain why it is overtaken by more recent works published in 1980 and 1983.

Even so, [Figure 9](#) demonstrates that the unique prominence of *The Ancient Economy* cannot simply be explained as a

Measuring Finley's Impact

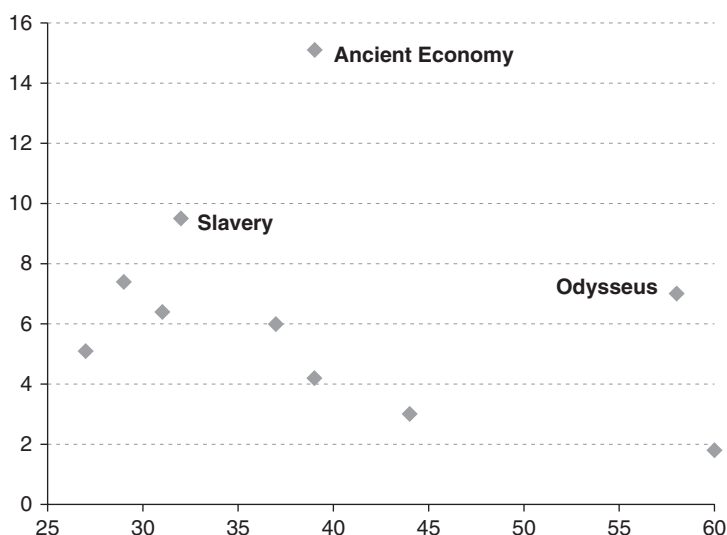


FIG. 9 Annualized citation scores for Finley's ten most cited books (y-axis) relative to time since first publication (x-axis).

function of its publication date very close to the 1975 threshold: it has been more successful in annualized terms than both older and more recent work. This firmly establishes its status as the *pièce de résistance* of Finley's oeuvre.

Finley and his Competitors

Finley's overall impact can only be measured in comparative terms. Analysis of the most plausible candidates for top rankings, limited to those publishing in English to account for the biases of the citation index but supplemented by Ancient History's doyen Theodor Mommsen, shows that Finley shares the top spot with his contemporary Arnaldo Momigliano (Table 1).⁵

A number of insights can be derived from this tabulation. Not surprisingly, scholarly appeal beyond a single academic field helps establish extraordinary citation records: this holds

⁵ For Finley's relationship with Momigliano, see Garnsey's chapter in this volume.

TABLE I *Citation scores of some leading ancient historians*

Arnaldo Momigliano	4,090
Moses Finley	4,029
Peter Brown	3,898
Ronald Syme	3,712
Theodor Mommsen	3,699
A. H. M. Jones	2,611
Michael Rostovtzeff	642

true for Momigliano, with his following among historians of scholarship more generally; for Finley, often the only ancient historian known to students of later economic history and slavery; and for Brown, whose work is eminently relevant to the well-staffed field of religious studies. At the same time, and perhaps more unexpectedly, concentration on a single field does not necessarily disqualify contenders from a top ranking, as demonstrated by the success of Syme and Jones. Mommsen's staying power is particularly remarkable given that he was active more than a century ago: this suggests that the weight of the citation index's bias against older work must not be exaggerated. Rostovtzeff has been included here because he is often invoked as a foil to Finley's approach to the study of the ancient economy: his poor showing leaves little doubt that Finley has carried the day.⁶

Adjustment for age is possible only in a purely impressionistic manner. Mommsen's record seems to establish him as the all-time leader of the pack, thanks to a large extent to the continuing relevance of his technical work on law and epigraphy. Brown's books are for the most part more recent than those of the others in this group and have consequently had a better chance of attracting citations. This means that the gap between Momigliano and Finley on the one hand and Brown on the other is somewhat larger in real terms than the raw figures would suggest. At the same time, both Momigliano and Finley relied more on republication of articles in books than Brown,

⁶ Multiple spellings of his name were used in searching the citation index to make sure to capture all relevant references.

Measuring Finley's Impact

TABLE 2 *Citation scores for some top-ranked Ancient History books*

Work	Gross score	Annualized score
Gibbon, <i>Decline and Fall</i> (1776–88)	1,294	—
Jones, <i>Later Roman Empire</i> (1964)	798	16.6
Brown, <i>Body and Society</i> (1988)	716	29.8
Brown, <i>Cult of the Saints</i> (1981)	641	20.7
Syme, <i>Roman Revolution</i> (1939)	626	8.6
Finley, <i>Ancient Economy</i> (1973)	589	15.1
Syme, <i>Tacitus</i> (1958)	549	10.2
Brown, <i>Augustine</i> (1967)	539	12.0

a practice that tends to offset the other bias.⁷ For now, Finley is effectively tied with Momigliano for the position of most cited ancient historian (primarily) publishing in English and, albeit more problematically given the absence of continental European scholarship from this survey, probably also for the position of second most cited ancient historian in general.

A similar exercise can be performed for individual books on Ancient History (Table 2). Here the top spot is occupied by Edward Gibbon's epic *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which presumably owes much of its prominence to its attraction to historians of scholarship and the Enlightenment. Among more contemporary works, Jones's massive survey of the later Roman Empire leads due to its continuing relevance to many studies of an entire sub-field. Brown's books are disproportionately well represented, aided in part by their relatively recent publication dates, an effect discernible in the inverse correlation of ranking with age. The only book by Finley to break into these top ranks is *The Ancient Economy*.

Finley's aggregate citations score is put in perspective by the fact that it far exceeds those of any living Greco-Roman

⁷ In Finley's case, republication of articles in books does not by itself account for his high overall citation score: *The Use and Abuse of History* and *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* account for only about one-tenth of all citations.

TABLE 3 *Citation scores of Cambridge Ancient History professors, 1925–present*

Frank Adcock (1925–51)	279
A.H.M. Jones (1951–70)	2,611
Moses Finley (1970–9)	4,029
John Crook (1979–84)	399
Keith Hopkins (1985–2000)	1,341
Robin Osborne (2000–)	965

historians except Peter Brown. In a somewhat older data set for ancient historians in the United States (compiled in 2008 and therefore reflecting a marginally earlier time horizon), prominent practitioners such as Ernst Badian (then still alive), Ramsay MacMullen, or Glen Bowersock scored only a little over 1,000 citations each, a threshold that as of 2011 had yet to be cleared by any active-duty professional ancient historians in the United States.⁸ In terms of citation count, Finley belongs in a tiny and extremely select group that constitutes very much a class of its own.

Much the same picture emerges when Finley is viewed in the specific context of his position as Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge (Table 3). Only his predecessor Jones has been able to maintain a somewhat comparable standing. It deserves notice that due to the more recent expansion of citation opportunities, the gap between Jones and Finley on the one hand and their successors on the other is even more pronounced than the raw data indicate.

As long as we are aware of their various biases and imperfections, quantitative assessments such as these serve multiple purposes. One is to lend substance to hazy impressions of academic prominence: just how different are the most famous

⁸ W. Scheidel, "Citation Scores for Ancient Historians in the United States," Version 1.0, February 2008, Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics (www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/020801.pdf), esp. 7 tab. 3; "Updated Citation Scores for Ancient Historians in the United States," Version 1.0, September 2011, Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics (www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/091102.pdf), 3 tab. 1.

Measuring Finley's Impact

scholars in terms of their impact? Another one is to get a better sense of which of their works have contributed most to their academic profiles. Yet another one is to provide context, and occasionally perhaps even checks, on qualitative explorations such as those gathered in this volume.

Finley on Finley's Impact

But the final word belongs to the man himself. In his interview with Finley, videotaped by the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London in 1985, Keith Hopkins asked him what he thought his impact had been:⁹

Do you think that you and your followers have in any way managed to change the normal way in which Ancient History is practised? You may not have been setting out to campaign against, but the impact was one of a campaign, wasn't it, setting up a new school?

To which Finley replied:

Well, school, alright. The difficulty is that there are too many ancient historians, any statement saying ancient historians now do this is easily falsified. But I don't have any doubt that ... there is now an increasing number of ancient historians who do more of what I call proper historical writing. Now I am not suggesting that I did it, because of me, but I am prepared to accept that I have some responsibility for it. Whether they represent more than a minority in the field I doubt – because it's a bit the hard way to do things.

Finley's answer puts the finger on the limits of quantification. If his impact has been on the way scholarship is being done, how can it be measured? Only careful engagement with the scholarly literature can hope to shed light on Finley's real impact. Hence this volume.

⁹ "Moses Finley Interviewed by Keith Hopkins," Institute of Historical Research, University of London, VHS Video 1985 (my transcription).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Collections of Papers and Transcripts

- Finley FBI File: Federal Bureau of Investigation, File WFO100-116407, obtained under Freedom of Information Act, 15 June 2005.
- Finley Papers: Finley Papers, Cambridge University Library.
- Merton Papers: Papers of Robert King Merton, Columbia University Rare Books and Manuscript Library.
- Foreign Relations of the United States: United States Department of State (1945), *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945. European Advisory Commission, Austria, Germany*, vol. 3. <http://digi-coll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=simple&rgn=Entire+work&size=First+100&work=FRUS.FRUS1945v03&q1=neumann&submit=Search>. Accessed 20 September 2013.
- Sir Moses Finley Interviewed by Keith Hopkins, 18th October 1985*, unpublished transcript, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge. Also available as a DVD from the Institute of Historical Research, University of London (store.london.ac.uk).

Books and Articles

- Adkins, A. W. H. (1960) *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford).
- (1972) *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece* (London).
- Alcock, S. (2007) 'The Eastern Mediterranean', in Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 671–97.
- Ampolo, C. (1982) 'Postfazione', in Finley 1982c: 139–49.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*. 2nd edn (London).
- Andreau, J. (1995) 'Présentation', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 50(5): 947–60.
- Andreau, J. and Descat, R. (2006) *Esclave en Grèce et à Rome* (Paris).
- Andrewes, A. (1967) *The Greeks* (London).
- Andreyev, V. N. (1974) 'Some Aspects of Agrarian Conditions in Attica in the Fifth to Third Centuries B.C.', *Eirene* 12: 5–46.
- Applebaum, S. (1976) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Agricultural History Review* 24(1): 63–5.
- Archibald, Z. H., Davies, J. K., Gabrielsen, V. and Oliver, G. J. (eds) (2001) *Hellenistic Economies* (London).

Bibliography

- Arias, P. E. (1987) 'Biagio Pace: un'esperienza di costante ricerca della Sicilia antica', *Kokalos* 33: 213–21.
- Asheri, D. (1963) 'Laws of Inheritance, Distribution of Land and Political Constitutions in Ancient Greece', *Historia* 12: 1–21.
- Austin, M. M. and Vidal-Naquet, P. (1977) *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece*. Revised and trans. M. M. Austin (London).
- Backhaus, W. (1974) *Marx, Engels und die Sklaverei* (Düsseldorf).
- Badian, E. (1981) 'The Bitter History of Slave History', *New York Review of Books*, 22 October, 28(16): 49–53.
- Bang, P. F., Ikeguchi, M. and Ziche, H. G. (eds) (2006) *Ancient Economies, Modern Methodologies: Archaeology, Comparative History, Models and Institutions* (Bari).
- Barnouw, J. (2004) *Odysseus, Hero of Practical Intelligence: Deliberation and Signs in Homer's Odyssey* (Lanham).
- Bell, D. (1981) 'First Love and Early Sorrows', *Partisan Review* 48: 532–51.
- Berent, M. (1996) 'Hobbes and the "Greek Tongues"', *History of Political Thought* 17(1): 36–59.
- Bergad, L. W. (2007) *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the United States* (Cambridge).
- Berger, A. (1952) Review of Finley's *Land and Credit, Seminar (An Annual Extraordinary Number of the Jurist)* 10: 87–93.
- Berlin, I. (1980) 'Time, Space and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America', *American Historical Review* 85: 44–78.
- (1998) *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA).
- Bianchi Bandinelli, R. (1961) *Archeologia e cultura* (Milan).
- Blassingame, J. W. (1972) *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York).
- Bloch, M. (1947) 'Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique', *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 2: 30–44, 161–70.
- (1954) *The Historian's Craft*. Trans. P. Putnam (Manchester).
- (1961) *Feudal Society*. Trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago).
- Boardman, J. (1973) 'Treading on Classic Ground: New Work in Greek Archaeology', *Encounter* 40: 67–69.
- Boldizzoni, F. (2011) *The Poverty of Clío: Resurrecting Economic History* (Princeton).
- Bowersock, G. W. (n.d.) 'Westermann's Role in the Development of Ancient History in America' (unpublished paper).
- Bowman, A. K. and Wilson, A. (2009) *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (Oxford).
- Braccesi, L. and Millino, G. (2000) *La Sicilia greca* (Rome).
- Bradley, K. R. (1975) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *American Journal of Philology* 96(1): 96–9.

Bibliography

- (1994) *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge).
- (1998) *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World: 146–70 B.C.* (Bloomington, IN).
- Bradley, K. and Cartledge, P. A. (eds) (2011) *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1: *The Ancient Mediterranean World* (Cambridge).
- Bruhns, H. (1997) ‘Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der römischen Republik in der deutschen Forschung: Kommentar zum Beitrag von Jean Andraeu’, in H. Bruhns, J.-M. David and W. Nippel (eds), *Die späte römische Republik. La fin de la république romaine. Un débat franco-allemand d’histoire et d’historiographie* (Rome): 185–93.
- Brunt, P. A. and Moore, J. M. (1967) *Res gestae divi Augusti* (Oxford).
- Bücher, K. (1893) *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (Tübingen).
- (1901) *Industrial Evolution*. Trans. S. M. Wickett (New York).
- Burian, J. (1974) ‘M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*’, *Gymnasium* 81: 452–3.
- Campagna, L. (2003) ‘La Sicilia di età repubblicana nella storiografia degli ultimi cinquant’anni’, *Ostraka* 12(1): 7–31.
- Camps, W. A. (1980) *An Introduction to Homer* (Cambridge).
- Carandini, A. (2000) *Giornale di scavo: pensieri sparsi di un archeologo* (Turin).
- Carpenter, H. (1996) *The Envy of the World: Fifty Years of the Third Programme and Radio Three* (London).
- Cartledge, P. (2009) *Ancient Greek Political Thought in Practice* (Cambridge).
- (2013) ‘Finley’s Democracy/Democracy’s Finley’, in W. V. Harris 2013: 93–106.
- Casson, L. (1974) ‘M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*’, W. I. Davisson and J. E. Harper, *European Economic History. Volume 1, The Ancient World*, *American Historical Review* 79(4): 1151–2.
- Ceserani, G. (2000) ‘The Charm of the Siren: The Place of Classical Sicily in Historiography’, in Smith and Serrati 2000: 174–93.
- Chambers, M. (1975) ‘M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*’, *Classical World* 68(6): 390–1.
- Christ, K. (1983) ‘Geschichte des Altertums, Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Ideologiekritik’, in K. Christ, *Römische Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Darmstadt): 228–43.
- Clemente, G. (1979) ‘L’età romana’, in G. de Stefano (ed.), *La Sicilia nella storiografia dell’ultimo trentennio* (Mazara): 23–44.
- Cohen, E. E. (1992) *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective* (Princeton).
- Connor, W. R. (1973/4) ‘Homo lucrans? T. F. Carney, *The Economies of Antiquity: Controls, Gifts and Trade*; M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*’, *Arion* 1(4): 731–9.
- Cook, R. M. (1960) *Greek Painted Pottery* (London).
- (1961) *The Greeks till Alexander* (London).
- (1979) ‘Archaic Greek Trade: Three Conjectures’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 179: 152–5.

Bibliography

- Cornelissen, C. (2001) *Gerhard Ritter: Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf).
- Crawford, D. J. (1971) *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge).
- Dal Lago, E. and Katsari, C. (eds) (2008a) *Slave Systems Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge).
- (2008b) 'The Study of Ancient and Modern Slave Systems: Setting an Agenda for Comparison', in Dal Lago and Katsari 2008a: 1–31.
- Davies, J. K. (1971) *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford).
- (2001) 'Hellenistic Economies in the Post-Finley Era', in Archibald et al. 2001: 11–62.
- (2007) 'Classical Greece: Production', in Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 333–61.
- De Sanctis, M. (1979) 'Moses I. Finley: note per una biografia intellettuale', *Quaderni di Storia* 10: 3–37.
- de Ste. Croix, G. E. M. (1953) 'Review of Finley's *Land and Credit*', *English Historical Review* 68: 450–1.
- (1981) *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London).
- Deetz, J. (1991) 'Introduction: Archaeological Evidence of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Encounters', in L. Falk (ed.), *Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (Washington, DC): 1–9.
- Deissler, J. (2000) *Antike Sklaverei und Deutsche Aufklärung im Spiegel von Johann Friedrich Reitemeiers 'Geschichte und Zustand der Sklaverey und Leibeigenschaft in Griechenland' 1789* (Stuttgart).
- (2010) 'Cold Case? Die Finley-Vogt-Kontroverse aus deutscher Sicht', in H. Heinen (ed.), *Antike Sklaverei: Rückblick und Ausblick. Neue Beiträge zur Forschungsgeschichte und zur Erschließung der archäologischen Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart): 77–93.
- Desborough, V. (1964) *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors* (Oxford).
- Descola, P. (2013) *Beyond Nature and Culture*. Trans. J. Lloyd (Chicago).
- Di Benedetto, V. (1975) 'Atene e Roma: società di consumatori o di classi?', *Rinascita* 14: 33–4.
- (1978) 'Athen und Rom: Konsum- oder Klassengesellschaft? Bemerkungen zur Geschichtskonzeption von Moses I. Finley', *Klio* 60: 619–21.
- Dolci, D. (1956) *Inchiesta a Palermo* (Turin).
- (1959) *To Feed the Hungry: Enquiry in Palermo*, Introduction by A. Huxley. Trans. P. D. Cummins (London).
- (1968) *The Man Who Plays Alone*. Trans. A. Cowan (London).
- Dorjahn, A. P. (1954) 'Review of Fine's *Horoi* and Finley's *Land and Credit*', *Classical Philology* 49: 269–70.
- Dreher, M. (2008) *Das antike Sizilien* (Munich).
- duBois, P. (2003) *Slaves and Other Objects* (Chicago).
- Dubouloz, J. and Pittia, S. (2009) 'La Sicile romaine, de la disparition de Hiéron II à la réorganisation augustéenne des provinces', *Pallas* 80: 85–126.

Bibliography

- Dunn, J. M. (1969) *The Political Thought of John Locke* (Cambridge).
- Erdkamp, P., Verboven, K. and Zuiderhoek, A. (eds) (2015) *Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford) p. 239, n. 43.
- Erdmann, K. D. (1987) *Die Ökumene der Historiker: Geschichte der internationalen Historikerkongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques* (Göttingen).
- Fatás, G. (1975) 'M. I. Finley, *La economía de la antigüedad*', *Pyrenae* 11: 206–9.
- Fine, J. V. A. (1951) *Horoi: Studies in Mortgage, Real Security, and Land Tenure in Ancient Athens*. *Hesperia* Supplement 9, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Finkelstein, M. I. (1929) *Justice Harlan on Personal Rights with Special Attention to Due Process of Law*. M.A. thesis, Department of Public Law and Government, Columbia University.
- (1935) 'Emporos, naukleros and kapelos: Prolegomena to the Study of Athenian Trade', *Classical Philology* 30: 320–36.
- (1936a) Review of Victor Ehrenberg, *Ost und West* (Brünn-Prag-Leipzig-Wien: Rohrer, 1935) and Fritz Taeger, 'Orient und Occident in der Antike' (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1936)', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 5: 439–41.
- (1936b) 'Review of Westermann's 'Sklaverei' (*Real-Encyclopädie* Suppl. 6, cols 894–1068)', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 5: 442.
- (1937a) 'Julius Wellhausen', in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* 15: 400–1.
- (1937b) *Syllabus for Ancient History: The College of the City of New York* (New York).
- (1941) Review of Benjamin Farrington, *Science and Politics in the Ancient World* (New York, 1940), Martin P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York, 1940) and H. W. Parke, 'A History of the Delphic Oracle' (Oxford, 1939)', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 9: 502–10.
- Finley, M. I. (1951) 'Some Considerations of Greek Law: A Consideration of Pringsheim on Sale', *Seminar (An Annual Extraordinary Number of the Jurist)* 9: 72–102.
- (1952) *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 B.C.: The Horos Inscriptions* (New Brunswick) [Repr. 1973 (New York); corrected repr. with introduction by P. Millett: Finley 1985d].
- (1953) 'Land, Debt and the Man of Property in Classical Athens', *Political Science Quarterly* 68: 249–68 [Repr. in Finley 1982b: 62–76].
- (1954) *The World of Odysseus* (New York).
- (1956) *The World of Odysseus* (London).
- (1957) 'The Mycenaean Tablets and Economic History', *Economic History Review* 10: 128–141 [Repr. as 'Mycenaean Palace Archives and Economic History', in Finley 1981: 199–212].
- (1959) 'Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?', *Historia* 8: 145–64 [Repr. in Finley 1982b: 97–115].

Bibliography

- (ed.) (1960a) *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies* (Cambridge).
- (1960b) 'The Servile Statuses of Ancient Greece', *Revue internationale des droits d'antiquité* 7: 165–89.
- (1961) 'The Significance of Ancient Slavery (a Brief Reply)', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 9: 285–6.
- (1962a) 'Classical Greece', in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Trade and Politics in the Ancient World*, Second International Congress of Economic History (Paris): 11–35 [Repr. 1979 (New York)].
- (1962b) 'The Black Sea and Danubian Regions and the Slave Trade in Antiquity', *Klio* 40: 51–9.
- (1962c) 'Athenian Demagogues', *Past and Present* 21: 3–24 [Repr. in Finley 1974g: ch. 1 and in Finley 1985c: ch. 2].
- (1963) *The Ancient Greeks* (London).
- (1964a) 'Alsop's Archaeology', *New York Review of Books*, 16 April, 2(5). www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1964/apr/16/alsops-archaeology/. Accessed 4 December 2014.
- (1964b) 'Between Slavery and Freedom', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 6: 233–49.
- (1964c) 'Crisis in the Classics' in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Crisis in the Humanities* (Harmondsworth): 11–23.
- (1964d) 'Graeco-Barbarian', *New Statesman*, 21 August: 251.
- (1964e) 'Half a Religion', *New Statesman*, 18 September: 409.
- (1964f) 'Plato in Sicily', *The Listener*, 3 December, 72(1862): 871–3.
- (1964g) 'Schliemann, etc.', *New Statesman*, 10 April: 572–73.
- (1964h) 'Suppositions', *New Statesman*, 2 October: 506.
- (1964i) 'Temples and Battles', *New Statesman*, 28 February: 338.
- (1964j) 'The Trojan War', *JHS* 84: 1–9.
- (1965a) 'Ancient History in the Senior Forms I', *Didaskalos* 1(3): 66–74.
- (1965b) 'La servitude pour dettes', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 43: 159–84.
- (1965c) 'Marx and Asia', *New Statesman*, 20 August: 252–3.
- (1965d) 'Myth, Memory and History', *History and Theory* 4: 281–302.
- (1965e) 'Technical Innovation and Economic Progress in the Ancient World', *Economic History Review* 18: 29–45.
- (1966a) 'The Problem of the Unity of Greek Law', *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale della Società Italiana di Storia del Diritto* (Florence): 129–42 [Repr. in Finley 1975e: 134–60].
- (1966b) 'Unfreezing the Classics', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 7 April: 289–90.
- (1967) 'Class Struggles', *The Listener*, 17 August, 78(1): 201–2.
- (1968a) *A History of Sicily: Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest* (London).
- (1968b) *Aspects of Antiquity* (London).

Bibliography

- (1968c) 'Interventi', *La città e il suo territorio: Atti del settimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 8-12 ottobre 1967* (Naples): 186-8, 326-7.
- (1968d) 'Slavery', *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* 14: 307-13.
- (1968e) 'The Alienability of Land in Ancient Greece: A Point of View', *Eirene* 7: 25-32 [Repr. in Finley 1975e: 153-60].
- (1969) 'Un-American Activities', *New Statesman*, 28 February: 296f.
- (1970) *Storia della Sicilia antica*. Trans. L. Biocca Marghieri (Bari).
- (1971a) 'Archaeology and History', *Daedalus* 100: 168-86.
- (1971b) 'Aristoteles und ökonomische Analyse', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1971, part II: 87-105.
- (1971c) *The Ancestral Constitution* (Cambridge).
- (1971d) 'The Master Builders: 7', *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 3 October: 24-36.
- (1972) *The World of Odysseus*. Revised edn (Harmondsworth).
- (ed.) (1973a) *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris-La Haye).
- (1973b) *The Ancient Economy* (London) [2nd edn with 'Further Thoughts': Finley 1985c; reissue with foreword by Ian Morris: Finley 1999].
- (1974a) 'Benjamin Farrington', *The Times*, 21 November: 16.
- (1974b) *La economía de la antigüedad* (Mexico City).
- (1974c) *L'economia degli antichi e dei moderni* (Bari).
- (1974d) *L'économie antique* (Paris).
- (1974e) 'Review of *The Dark Age of Greece* by A. M. Snodgrass', *The English Historical Review* 89: 143.
- (1974f) 'The World of Odysseus Revisited', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 71: 13-31.
- (1974g) *Studies in Ancient Society*. London.
- (1975a) 'La politica degli antichi e dei moderni', *Belfagor* 30: 344-6.
- (1975b) 'The Alienability of Land in Ancient Greece', in Finley 1975e: 153-60.
- (1975c) 'The Great Schism', *The Guardian*, 6 February: 14 [Review of books by Perry Anderson].
- (1975d) 'The Necessary Evil', *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 November: 1348 [Review of Vogt, *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*].
- (1975e) *The Use and Abuse of History* (London).
- (1976a) 'In lieblicher Bläue: Porträt und Gesellschaft by Dieter Metzler; Architektur und Gesellschaft in der Antike by Anton Bammer', *Arion* 3: 79-95.
- (1976b) 'Private Farm Tenancy in Italy before Diocletian', in Finley 1976c: 103-22.
- (ed.) (1976c) *Studies in Roman Property* (Cambridge).
- (1977a) '"Progress" in Historiography', *Daedalus* 106(3): 125-42.

Bibliography

- (1977b) 'The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19: 305–27 [Repr. in Finley 1982b: 3–23].
- (1977c) *The World of Odysseus*. 2nd edn (London).
- (1978) *The World of Odysseus*. 2nd edn (New York).
- (1979a) 'Aegean Art and the Politics of Loan Exhibitions', *The New York Times*, 29 October: 28.
- (1979b) *Ancient Sicily*. Revised edn (London).
- (1979c) *Das antike Sizilien: Von der Vorgeschichte bis zur Arabischen Eroberung*. Trans. G. Felten and K.-E. Felten (Munich).
- (1979d) 'Slavery and the Historians', *Histoire sociale* 12: 247–61.
- (ed.) (1979e) *The Bücher–Meyer Controversy* (New York).
- (1980a) *A economia antiga* (Porto).
- (1980b) *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London).
- (1980c) *Antike und moderne Demokratie*. Trans. E. Pack (Stuttgart).
- (1980d) *Die antike Wirtschaft* (Munich).
- (1981) *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*. B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller (eds) (London).
- (1982a) *Antikkens økonomi* (Herning).
- (1982b) *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*. B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller (eds) (New York).
- (1982c) *La democrazia degli antichi e dei moderni. Nuova edizione* (Rome).
- (1982d) 'Problems of Slave Society: Some Reflections on the Debate', *Opus* 1: 201–11.
- (1983) *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge).
- (1984) 'Soziale Modelle zur antiken Geschichte. I: Wie es eigentlich gewesen; II: Krieg und Herrschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift* 239: 265–308.
- (1985a) *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (London).
- (1985b) *Democracy Ancient and Modern*. Revised edn (New Brunswick).
- (1985c) *The Ancient Economy*. 2nd edn (London).
- (1985d) *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 B.C.: The Horos Inscriptions*. Corrected repr. with an introduction by Paul Millett (New Brunswick).
- (1986a) *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (New York).
- (1986b) *La Sicile antique: des origines à l'époque byzantine*. Trans. J. Carlier (Paris).
- (1986c) 'Revolution in Antiquity', in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds), *Revolution in History* (Cambridge): 47–60.
- (ed.) (1987) *Classical Slavery* (London).
- (1998) *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. B. Shaw (ed.) (Princeton).
- (1999) *The Ancient Economy*, Updated edition with foreword by Ian Morris (Berkeley).
- (2002a) *The World of Odysseus*, Introduction by Bernard Knox (New York).

Bibliography

- (2002b) *The World of Odysseus*, Introduction by Simon Hornblower (London).
- Finley, M. I. and Mack Smith, D. (1961) 'Sicily', *Horizon: A Magazine of the Arts*, September 4(1): 20–45.
- Finley, M. I., Caskey J. L., Kirk G. S. et al. (1964) 'The Trojan War', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84: 1–20.
- Finley, M. I., Mack Smith, D. and Duggan, C. (1986) *A History of Sicily* (London).
- Fogel, R. W. and Engerman, S. L. (eds) (1971) *The Reinterpretation of American Economic History* (New York).
- Fogel, R. W. (1974) *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston).
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish*. Trans. A. Sheridan (New York).
- Frederiksen, M. W. (1975) 'Theory, Evidence and the Ancient Economy. M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 65: 164–71.
- Freeman, E. A. (1891–4) *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times (to the Death of Agathokles)*. 4 vols (Oxford).
- (1892) *Sicily: Phoenician, Greek, and Roman* (London).
- Freund, J. (1976) 'Les démocrates ombrageux', *Contrepoint* 22/3: 97–112.
- (1988) 'Der Partisan oder der kriegerische Friede', in H. Quaritsch (ed.), *Complexio Oppositorum: Über Carl Schmitt* (Berlin): 387–91 (and discussion, 393–9).
- Frier, B. (1989) 'Review of *Le vin de l'Italie romaine* by André Tchernia; *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* by Kevin Greene', *American Journal of Archaeology* 93: 153–4.
- Frier, B. and Kehoe, D. (2007) 'Law and Economic Institutions', in Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 113–43.
- Fromm, E. (1984) *The Working Class in Weimar Germany*. Trans. B. Weinberger (Oxford).
- Gabba, E. and Vallet, E. (eds) (1980) *La Sicilia antica*. 2 vols (Naples).
- Gagarin, M. (2005) 'The Unity of Greek Law', in Gagarin and Cohen 2005: 29–40.
- Gagarin, M. and Cohen, D. (eds) (2005) *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Law* (Cambridge).
- Gall, G. J. (1999) *Pursuing Justice: Lee Pressman, the New Deal, and the CIO* (Albany).
- Garlan, Y. (1988) *Slavery in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, NY).
- Garnsey, P. and Whittaker, C. R. (1978) *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge).
- Garnsey, P., Hopkins K. and Whittaker, C. R. (eds) (1983) *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London).
- Genovese, E. D. (1974) *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York).
- Gernet, L. (1953) Review of Finley's *Land and Credit*, *Iura* 4: 361–6 [Repr. in Gernet 1983: 121–9].

Bibliography

- (1953/4) 'Review of Finley, *The World of Odysseus*', *L'année sociologique* 7: 295–7 [Repr. in Gernet 1983: 138–41].
- (1983) *Les Grecs sans miracle: textes 1903–1960*. R. di Donato (ed.) (Paris).
- Giardina, A. (2007) 'Marxism and Historiography: Perspectives on Roman History', in C. Wickham (ed.), *Marxist History-writing for the Twenty-first Century* (Oxford).
- Gluskina, L. M. (1957) 'New Works on the History of Land Relationships and Credit in Ancient Attica', *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 154–67 [In Russian; review of Fine's *Horoi* and Finley's *Land and Credit*].
- Gomme, A. W. (1937) 'Traders and Manufacturers in Greece', in A. W. Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford): 42–67.
- Goody, J. (1968) (ed.) *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge).
- Goody, J. and Watt, I. (1963) 'The Consequences of Literacy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5: 304–45.
- Granovetter, M. (1985) 'Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness', *American Journal of Sociology* 91(3): 481–510.
- (2005) 'Comment on Liverani and Bedford', in Manning and Morris 2005: 84–8.
- Green, P. (1961) 'The First Sicilian Slave War', *Past and Present* 20: 10–29.
- Greene, K. (1986) *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley).
- (2000) 'Technological Innovation and Economic Progress in the Ancient World: M. I. Finley Re-considered', *Economic History Review* 53: 29–59.
- (2006) 'Archaeological Data and Economic Interpretation', in Bang, Ikeguchi and Ziche 2006: 108–36.
- Guercio, F. M. (1968) *Sicily, the Garden of the Mediterranean: The Country and its People*. 3rd edn (London).
- Gunther, P. E. (1974) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Canadian Journal of Economics* 7(3): 530–1.
- Günther, R. and Schrot, G. (1961) 'Die Sektionssitzungen des XI. Internationalen Historikerkongresses in Stockholm, August 1960. Sektion II (Alte Geschichte)', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 9: 153–6.
- Günther, W. (1979) 'Review of Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Gnomon* 39: 607–9.
- Halstead, P. (1998) 'A Bone to Pick: An Interview with Paul Halstead', *assemblage* 4.
- Hansen, M. H. (2002) 'Was the *polis* a State or a Stateless Society?', in T. H. Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, *Historia Einzelschr.* 162 (Stuttgart): 125–86.
- Harper, K. (2011) *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275–425* (Cambridge).
- Harris, E. (1988) 'When Is a Sale Not a Sale? The Riddle of Athenian Terminology for Real Security Revisited', *Classical Quarterly* 38: 351–81 [Repr. with 'Afterthoughts' in E. Harris 2006: 163–206].

Bibliography

- (1993) 'Apotimema: Athenian Terminology for Real Security in Leases and Dowry Arrangements', *Classical Quarterly* 43: 73–95 [Repr. with 'Afterthoughts' in E. Harris 2006: 207–39].
- (2002a) 'Did Solon Abolish Debt-bondage?', *Classical Quarterly* 52: 415–30.
- (2002b) 'Workshop, Household and Marketplace', in P. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen and L. Foxhall (eds), *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece* (London): 67–99.
- (2006) *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens* (Cambridge).
- (2008) 'Response to Gerhard Thür', in E. Harris and G. Thür (eds), *Symposion 2007: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Vienna): 189–200.
- Harris, W. V. (1993) 'Between Archaic and Modern: Some Current Problems in the History of the Roman Economy', in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Inscribed Economy* (Ann Arbor): 11–29.
- (ed.) (2013) *Moses Finley and Politics*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, vol. 40 (Leiden).
- Harrison, A. H. R. W. (1954) 'Review of Finley's *Land and Credit*', *Classical Review* 4: 39–41.
- (1968) *The Law of Athens*, vol. 1: *The Family and Property* (Oxford).
- Hartog, F. (1981) 'Entretien avec Moses I. Finley', in M. I. Finley, *Mythe, Mémoire, Histoire* (Paris): 253–65.
- Haynes, J. E. and Klehr, H. (2000) *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven).
- Heichelheim, F. M. (1930) *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus* (Jena).
- (1933) 'Land Tenure: Ancient World', in Seligman 1933: 77–82.
- Heinen, H. (2005) 'Das Mainzer Akademieprojekt "Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei": Geschichte und Bilanz, Perspektiven und Desiderate', in E. Herrmann-Otto (ed.), *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart* (Hildesheim): 371–94.
- Hemmerdinger, B. (1976) 'Review of Vidal-Naquet, preface to Finley, *Démocratie antique et démocratie moderne*', *Belfagor* 31: 355–8.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1959) *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester).
- Hodder, I. (1982) *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge).
- (1986) *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge).
- Hodkinson, S. (2008) 'Spartiates, Helots and the Direction of the Agrarian Economy: Toward an Understanding of Helotage in Comparative Perspective', in Dal Lago and Katsari (2008a): 285–320.
- Holm, A. (1870–98) *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*. 3 vols (Leipzig).
- Hopkins, K. (1980) 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)', *Journal of Roman Studies* 70: 101–25.

Bibliography

- (1983) 'Introduction', in Garnsey, Hopkins and Whittaker 1983: ix–xxv.
- (1995/6) 'Rome, Taxes, Rents and Trade', *Kodai: Journal of Ancient History* 6/7: 41–75.
- (2002) 'Rome, Taxes, Rents and Trade', in W. Scheidel and S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy* (Edinburgh): 190–230.
- (2009) 'The Political Economy of the Roman Empire', in I. Morris and W. Scheidel (eds), *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium* (Oxford): 178–204.
- Horkheimer, M. (1936) 'Egoismus und die Freiheitsbewegung', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 5: 161–234.
- (1994) 'The Impotence of the German Working Class', in Kaes, Jay and Dimendberg 1994: 316–18.
- (1995) 'Egoism and the Freedom Movement', in M. Horkheimer, *Between Philosophy and the Social Sciences: Selected Early Writings*. Trans. G. F. Hunter, M. S. Kramer and J. Torpey (Cambridge, MA): 49–110.
- (2003) 'Preface', in Rusche and Kirchheimer 2003: li–lii.
- Hornblower, S. (2002) 'Introduction', in Finley 2002b.
- (2004) 'A Gift From Whom?', *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 & 31 December: 18–19.
- Jay, M. (1973) *The Dialectical Imagination* (Boston).
- Jones, A. H. M. (1956) 'Slavery in the Ancient World', *Economic History Review* 9: 185–99.
- Jones, J. (1962) *On Aristotle and Greek Tragedy* (New York).
- Jones, N. F. (2004) *Rural Athens under the Democracy* (Philadelphia).
- Kaes, A., Jay, M. and Dimendberg, E. (eds) (1994) *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley).
- Kehoe, D. P. (2007) *Law and the Rural Economy in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor).
- Kirchheimer, O. (1954) 'Notes on the Political Scene in Western Germany', *World Politics* 6: 306–21.
- Kirchheimer, O. with Gurland, A. R. L. and Neumann, F. (1943) *The Fate of Small Business in Nazi Germany* (Washington, DC).
- Kirk, G. S. (1962) *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge).
- (1965) *Homer and the Epic* (Cambridge).
- Kirkendall, R. S. (1966) *Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (Columbia, MO).
- Knox, B. (2002) 'Introduction', in Finley 2002a.
- Kohns, H. P. (1978) 'Review of Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 230: 120–32.
- Konstan, D. (1976) 'Review of Backhaus, *Marx, Engels und die Sklaverei*', *Classical World* 69: 501.
- Koppes, C. R. (1978) 'Public Water, Private Land: Origins of the Acreage Limitation Controversy, 1933–1953', *Pacific Historical Review* 47: 607–36.

Bibliography

- Kowalczyk, I.-S. (1997) *Legitimation eines neuen Staates: Parteiarbeiter an der historischen Front. Geschichtswissenschaft in der SBZ/DDR 1945 bis 1961* (Berlin).
- Krouwel, A. (2003) 'Otto Kirchheimer and the Catch-All Party', *West European Politics* 26: 23–40.
- Lalonde, G. V. (1991) 'Horoi', in *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 19: *Inscriptions* (Princeton): 1–52.
- Lanza, D. (1974) 'Review of Finley, *Democrazia degli antichi e dei moderni*', *Belfagor* 29: 717–26.
- Laslett, P. (1956) 'The Face-to-Face Society', in P. Laslett (ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, and Society* (Oxford): ch. 10.
- Laudani, R. (ed.) (2013) *Secret Reports on Nazi Germany: The Frankfurt School Contribution to the War Effort* (Princeton).
- Lauffer, S. (1961) 'Die Sklaverei in der griechisch-römischen Welt', *Gymnasium* 68: 370–95.
- Launaro, A. (2011) *Peasants and Slaves: The Rural Population of Roman Italy (200 BC to AD 100)* (Cambridge).
- Lear, F. S. (1974) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*'; R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*', *Business History Review* 48(4): 577–9.
- Lepore, E. (1972–3) 'Otto anni di studi storici sulla Sicilia antica e conclusioni sul congresso', *Kokalos* 18–19: 120–45.
- Leuchtenberg, W. E. (1963) *FDR and the New Deal* (New York).
- Lévéque, P. (1966) *La Sicile* (Paris).
- Lévy, R. (1964) *One Dimensional Man* (London).
- Lévy, R. and Zander, H. (1994) 'Introduction', in Rusche and Kirchheimer 1994: 9–82.
- Lewis, D. M. (2011) *Greek Slavery in a Near Eastern Context: A Comparative Study of the Legal and Economic Distinctiveness of Greek Slave Systems*. PhD dissertation. Durham.
- Lloyd Jones, H. (1982) 'Pindar', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68: 139–63 [Repr. in H. Lloyd Jones (1990) *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd Jones* (Oxford): 76–9].
- Lo Cascio, E. (2006) 'The Role of the State in the Roman Economy: Making Use of the New Institutional Economics', in Bang, Ikeguchi and Ziche 2006: 215–34.
- (2007) 'Crescita e declino: l'economia romana in prospettiva storica', *Rivista di Storia Economica* 23: 269–82.
- (2009) *Crescita e declino: studi di storia dell'economia romana* (Rome).
- Long, A. A. (1970) 'Morals and Values in Homer', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 90: 121–39.
- Luraghi, N. (2009) 'The Helots: Comparative Approaches, Ancient and Modern', in S. Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Swansea): 261–304.

Bibliography

- Mack Smith, D. (1954) *Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860: A Study in Political Conflict* (Cambridge).
- (1956) *Garibaldi: A Great Life in Brief* (New York).
- (1958) *Garibaldi e Cavour nel 1860*. Trans. P. Gori (Turin).
- (1959a) *Italy: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor).
- (1959b) *Garibaldi: una grande vita in breve*. Trans. F. Rossi-Landi (Milan).
- (1959c) *Storia d'Italia dal 1861 al 1958*. Trans. A. Aquarone (Bari).
- (1968a) *A History of Sicily: Medieval Sicily: 800–1713* (London).
- (1968b) *A History of Sicily: Modern Sicily: After 1713* (London).
- MacNeish, J. (1965) *Fire under the Ashes: The Life of Danilo Dolci* (London).
- Manganaro, G. (1972) 'Per una storia della Sicilia Romana', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* I.1: 442–61.
- (1979) 'L'età greca', in G. di Stefano (ed.), *La Sicilia nella storiografia dell'ultimo trentennio* (Trapani): 3–22.
- Mangione, J. (1968) *A Passion for Sicilians: The World Around Danilo Dolci* (New York).
- Manni, E. (1977) 'La Sicilia antica nella storiografia straniera degli ultimi cento anni', in Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, *La presenza della Sicilia nella cultura degli ultimi cento anni*. 2 vols (Palermo): vol. 1, 19–31.
- Manning, J. G. and Morris, I. (eds) (2005) *The Ancient Economy: Evidence and Models* (Stanford).
- Marcuse, H. (1941) *Reason and Revolution* (New York).
- Marx, K. (1996) 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', in T. Carver (ed.), *Marx: Later Political Writings* (Cambridge): 31–127.
- Marzano, A. (2007) *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, vol. 30 (Leiden and Boston).
- (2009) 'Agros coemendo et colendo in gloriam: Villas and Farms in the Republic', in A. Keaveney and L. Earnshaw-Brown (eds), *Proceedings of the Conference Italians on the Land: Changing Perspectives on Republican Italy Now and Then* (Newcastle): 31–46.
- Mattingly, D. J. and Salmon J. (2001) *Economies beyond Agriculture in the Classical World* (London).
- Maxwell, G. (1956) *God Protect Me from My Friends* (London).
- (1959) *The Ten Pains of Death* (London).
- (1960) *Ring of Bright Water* (London).
- Mazzarino, S. (1977) 'La presenza della Sicilia nel pensiero storico dopo l'Unità: premesse originarie e problemi generali', in Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, *La presenza della Sicilia nella cultura degli ultimi cento anni*. 2 vols (Palermo): vol. 1, 3–18.
- McKeown, N. (2007) *The Invention of Ancient Slavery?* (London).
- Meier, C. (1986) 'Review of Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*', *Gnomon* 58: 496–509.

Bibliography

- Meillassoux, C. (1982) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Europa* 5(1): 79–82.
- Melossi, D. (1978) 'Review of Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer', *Crime and Social Justice* 9: 73–85.
- (2003) 'Introduction', in Rusche and Kirchheimer 2003: lx–xliv.
- Melotopoulos, I. A. (1949) '*Prasis epi lusei*', *Polemon* 4: 41–72.
- Meyer, E. (1895) *Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums* (Jena).
- Michell, H. (1953) 'Land Tenure in Ancient Greece', *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 19: 245–53 [Review of Fine's *Horoï* and Finley's *Land and Credit*].
- Michels, R. (1911) *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie: Untersuchungen über die oligarchischen Tendenzen des Gruppenlebens* (Leipzig).
- Mickwitz, G. (1937) 'Economic Rationalism in Graeco-Roman Agriculture', *English Historical Review* 52: 577–89.
- (1939) 'Zum Problem der Betriebsführung in der Antiken Wirtschaft', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 32: 1–25.
- Millett, P. (1982) 'The Attic *Horoï* Reconsidered in the Light of Recent Discoveries', *Opus*, 1: 219–49 [Repr. as an introductory essay to Finley 1985d: vii–xxxviii].
- (1991) *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (Cambridge).
- Momigliano, A. (1954) 'M. I. Rostovtzeff', *Cambridge Journal* 7(6): 341–3.
- (1966) *Studies in Historiography* (London).
- (1975) 'The Greeks and Us. M. I. Finley, *Democracy Ancient and Modern*; M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*; M. I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History*', *New York Review of Books* 22(16): 36–8 [Repr. as Momigliano 1980b].
- (1980a) 'La riscoperta della Sicilia antica da T. Fazello a P. Orsi', in Gabba and Vallet 1980: I.3, 767–80 [Repr. in A. Momigliano (1984) *Settimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome): 115–32].
- (1980b) 'The Use of the Greeks', in A. Momigliano, *Sesto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome): 313–22.
- (1984) 'Uno storico liberale fautore del Sacro Impero Romano: E. A. Freeman', in A. Momigliano, *Settimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome): 187–200.
- (1987) 'Moses Finley and Slavery: A Personal Note', in Finley 1987: 1–6.
- Montoya, B. (2015) *L'esclavitud en l'economia antiga. Fonaments discursius Besançon de la historiografia moderna* (Segles XV–XVIII).
- Morley, N. (2004) *Theories, Models and Concepts in Ancient History* (London and New York).
- Morris, I. (1986a) 'Gift and Commodity in Archaic Greece', *Man* 21: 1–17.
- (1986b) 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', *Classical Antiquity* 5: 81–138.
- (1994) 'The Athenian Economy Twenty Years after *The Ancient Economy*', *Classical Philology* 89: 351–66.

Bibliography

- (1999) 'Foreword', in Finley 1999: ix–xxxvi.
- (2005) 'Archaeology, Standards of Living, and Greek Economic History', in Manning and Morris 2005: 91–126.
- Morris, I. and Manning, J. G. (2005a) 'The Economic Sociology of the Ancient Mediterranean World', in Smelser and Swedberg 2005: 131–59.
- (2005b) 'Introduction', in Manning and Morris 2005: 1–44.
- Morris, I., Saller, R. P. and Scheidel, W. (2007) 'Introduction', in Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 1–12.
- Moss, R. W. (1975) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Science and Society* 39(2): 226–9.
- Mossé, C. (1974) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 94: 222–4.
- (1982) 'Moses Finley ou l'histoire ancienne au présent', *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 37(5–6): 997–1003.
- Musto, M. (ed.) (2008) *Karl Marx's 'Grundrisse': Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy 150 Years Later* (London).
- Myres, J. L. and Gray, D. H. F. (1958) *Homer and His Critics* (Oxford).
- Nafissi, M. (2004) 'Class, Embeddedness, and the Modernity of Ancient Athens', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46: 378–410.
- (2005) *Ancient Athens and Modern Ideology: Value, Theory and Evidence in Historical Sciences: Max Weber, Karl Polanyi and Moses Finley* (London).
- Nagy, G. (1979) *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore).
- Naiden, F. S. (2014) 'Finley's War Years', *American Journal of Philology* 135(2): 243–66.
- Naiden, F. S. and Talbert, R. J. A. (ed.) (2014) *Moses Finley in America: The Making of an Ancient Historian*. Special issue of *American Journal of Philology* 135(2): 167–280.
- Nee, V. (2005) 'The New Institutionalism in Economics and Sociology', in Smelser and Swedberg 2005: 49–74.
- Neumann, F. (1942) 'Labor Mobilization in the National Socialist New Order', *Law and Contemporary Problems* 9: 544–66.
- (2009) *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933–1944* (Chicago).
- Nippel, W. (1982) 'Die Heimkehr der Argonauten aus der Südsee: Ökonomische Anthropologie und die Theorie der griechischen Gesellschaft in klassischer Zeit', *Chiron* 12: 1–39.
- (1987–9) 'Finley and Weber: Some Comments and Theses', *OPUS* 6–8 [1991]: 43–50.
- (2005) 'Marx, Weber und die Sklaverei', in E. Herrmann-Otto (ed.), *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart* (Hildesheim): 317–56.
- (2006) 'Moses I. Finley (1912–1986)', in L. Raphael (ed.), *Klassiker der Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. 2: *Von Fernand Braudel bis Natalie Z. Davis* (Munich): 63–76.

Bibliography

- (2013) *Klio dichtet nicht: Studien zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Althistorie* (Frankfurt am Main).
- North, D. C. (1977) 'Markets and Other Allocation Systems in History: The Challenge of Karl Polanyi', *Journal of European Economic History* 6(3): 703–16.
- (1981) *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York and London).
- (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge).
- (2005) *Understanding the Process of Economic Change* (Princeton).
- Norwich, J. J. (1967) *The Normans in the South, 1016–1130* (London).
- Nourse, E. G., Davis, J. S. and Black, J. D. (1937) *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration* (Washington, DC).
- Oates, J. F. (1982) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Europa* 5(1): 75–9.
- Oliva, P. (1960) 'Die Bedeutung der antiken Sklaverei (Kritische Bemerkungen)', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8: 309–19.
- (1970) 'Formen der Arbeit im antiken Griechenland', *Eirene* 8: 57–70.
- Oost, S. I. (1974) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Chicago Review* 25(4): 147–8.
- Osborne, R. G. (1985) *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge).
- Osborne, R. G. (2005) 'Rural Athens', *Classical Review* 55: 585–7 [Review of Jones's *Rural Athens under the Democracy*].
- Pace, B. (1935–49) *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, 4 vols (Milan, Rome and Naples) [Vol. 1 revised 1958].
- Pais, E. (1894) *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, vol. 1 (Turin and Palermo).
- Paoli, U. E. (1930) 'Ipoteca e apotimema nel diritto attico', *Studi di diritto attico* (Florence): 141–94.
- (1933) 'La "datio in solutum" nel diritto attico', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 10: 181–212.
- Papazarkadas, N. (2011) *Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens* (Oxford).
- Pareti, L. (1959) *Sicilia antica* (Palermo).
- Parke, H. W. (1975) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*; M. I. Finley, *Democracy Ancient and Modern*', *Hermathena* 119: 79–80.
- Parkins, H. and Smith, C. (1998) *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (London).
- Paxton, R. O. (1997) *French Peasant Fascism: Henry Dorgères' Greenshirts and the Crises of French Agriculture, 1929–1939* (New York).
- Pećirka, J. (1963) 'Land Tenure and the Development of the Athenian Polis', in L. Varel and R. F. Willetts (eds), *Geras: Studies Presented to George Thompson* (Prague): 183–201.
- (1964) 'Die sowjetischen Diskussionen über die asiatische Produktionsweise und über die Sklavenhalterformation', *Eirene* 3: 147–69.

Bibliography

- (1967) 'Von der asiatischen Produktionsweise zu einer marxistischen Analyse der frühen Klassengesellschaften: Randbemerkungen zur gegenwärtigen Diskussion in der UdSSR', *Eirene* 6: 141–74.
- Pinzone, A. (2000) 'Adolf Holm nel contesto della cultura siciliana', *Mediterraneo Antico* 3(1): 113–40.
- Pleket, H. W. (1976) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Mnemosyne* 29(2): 208–18.
- (1982) 'Slavernij in de Oudheid: "Voer" voor oudhistorici en comparatisten', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 95: 58–87 [Review of Finley's *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*].
- Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformations* (Boston).
- (1953) 'Wealth, Money, and Credit', *Journal of Economic History*, 13: 233–5 [Review of Finley's *Land and Credit*].
- (1957a) 'Aristotle Discovers the Economy', in Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson 1957: 64–94.
- (1957b) 'The Economy as Instituted Process', in Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson 1957: 243–70.
- Polanyi, K., Arensberg, C. A. and Pearson, H. W. (eds) (1957) *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (Glencoe).
- Prag, J. R. W. (2002) 'Epigraphy by Numbers: Latin and the Epigraphic Culture in Sicily', in A. E. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?* (Portsmouth, RI): 15–31.
- (2009) 'Republican Sicily at the Start of the 21st Century: The Rise of the Optimists', *Pallas* 79: 131–44.
- (2010) 'Tyranizing Sicily: The Despots Who Cried "Carthage!"', in A. Turner, K. O. Chong-Gossard and F. Vervaeke (eds), *Private and Public Lies: The Discourse of Despotism and Deceit in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden): 51–71.
- Pringsheim, F. (1950) *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar).
- (1952) Review of Fine's *Horoi*, *Gnomon* 24: 348–53.
- (1953) Review of Finley's *Land and Credit*, *Gnomon* 25: 223–31.
- Quinn, J. C. and Vella, N. C. (eds) (2014) *The Punic Mediterranean: Identities and Identification from Phoenician Settlement to Roman Rule* (Cambridge).
- Redfield, J. M. (1975) *Nature and Culture in the Iliad* (Chicago).
- (1983) 'The Economic Man', in C. A. Rubino and C. W. Shelmerdine (eds), *Approaches to Homer* (Austin): 218–47.
- Reinhold, M. (1940) 'Historian of the Classic World: A Critique of Rostovtzeff', *Science and Society* 10: 61–91.
- (2002) *Studies in Classical History and Society* (Oxford).
- Rihll, T. (1996) 'The Origin and Establishment of Ancient Greek Slavery', in M. L. Bush (ed.), *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage* (London and New York): 89–111.

Bibliography

- Rilinger, R. (1977) 'Review of Finley, *Die antike Wirtschaft*', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 59: 247–50.
- Rodewald, C. (1954) 'Review of Fine's *Horoi* and Finley's *Land and Credit*', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 74: 211–13.
- Rostovtzeff, M. I. (1926a) *A History of the Ancient World* (Oxford).
 (1926b) *The Social and Economic History of the Roman World* (Oxford).
 (1941) *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford).
 (1957) *The Social and Economic History of the Roman World*. 2nd edn (Oxford).
- Roussel, D. (1970) *La Sicile entre les Romains et les Carthaginois à l'époque de la première guerre punique (essai sur l'histoire de la Sicile de 276 à 241)* (Paris).
- Rusche, G. (1933) 'Arbeitsmarkt und Strafvollzug', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 2: 63–78.
- Rusche, G. and Kirchheimer, O. (1939) *Punishment and Social Structure* (New York).
 (1978) *Pena e struttura sociale*. D. Melossi and M. Pavarini (eds) (Bologna).
 (1994) *Peine et structure sociale: histoire et "théorie critique" du régime pénal*. Texte présenté et établi par René Lévy et Hartwig Zander. Traduction de l'allemand par Francoise Laroche (Paris).
 (2003) *Punishment and Social Structure* (New Brunswick).
- Saller, R. P. (1982) *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge).
 (2002) 'Framing the Debate over Growth in the Ancient Economy', in Scheidel and von Reden 2002: 251–69 [Repr. as Saller 2005].
 (2005) 'Framing the Debate over Growth in the Ancient Economy', in Manning and Morris 2005: 223–38.
- Salmeri, G. (1992) 'Ettore Pais e la Sicilia antica', in *Sicilia romana: storia e storiografia* (Catania): 97–123.
- Scheidel, W. (2012) 'Approaching the Roman Economy', in W. Scheidel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge): 1–21.
- Scheidel, W. and von Reden S. (eds) (2002) *The Ancient Economy* (Edinburgh).
- Scheidel, W., Morris, I. and Saller, R. P. (eds) (2007) *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge).
- Schlaifer, R. (1936) 'Greek Theories of Slavery from Homer to Aristotle', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 47: 165–204.
- Schmidt, C. T. (1941) *American Farmers in the World Crisis* (New York).
- Schmitt Pantel, P. (2003) 'Pierre Vidal-Naquet', in V. Sales (ed.), *Les historiens* (Paris): 317–35.
- Schneider, H. (1988) 'Schottische Aufklärung und antike Gesellschaft', in P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (eds), *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 65. Geburtstag* (Darmstadt): 431–64.
- Schofield, M. (1986) 'Euboulia in the *Iliad*', *Classical Quarterly* 36: 6–31.
- Schrecker, E. W. (1986) *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York).

Bibliography

- Seligman, E. R. A. (ed.) (1933) *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York).
- Seyffert, H. (1956) 'Review of Finley, *The World of Odysseus*', *Gnomon* 28: 476.
- Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. Y. (1987) *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge).
- Sharwood Smith, J. E. (1977) *On Teaching Classics*. Students Library of Education (London, Henley and Boston).
- Shaw, B. D. (1992) 'Under Russian Eyes. M. A. Wes, *Michael Rostovtzeff, Historian in Exile: Russian Roots in an American Context*; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Histoire Économique et Sociale de l'Empire Romain*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 82: 216–28.
- (1993) 'The Early Development of M. I. Finley's Thought: The Heichelheim Dossier', *Athenaeum* 81: 177–99.
- Shaw, B. D. and Saller, R. P. (1981) 'Editors' Introduction', in Finley 1981: ix–xxvi.
- Shipton, K. (2000) *Lending and Leasing: The Cash Economy in Fourth-Century BC Athens* (London).
- Skydsgaard, J. E. (1975) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Technology and Culture* 16(4): 617–19.
- Small, D. B. (1995) *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology* (Leiden).
- Smelser, N. J. and Swedberg, R. (eds) (2005) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. 2nd edn (Princeton).
- Smith, C. and Serrati, J. (eds) (2000) *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: New Approaches in Archaeology and History* (Edinburgh).
- Snodgrass, A. M. (1971) *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh).
- (1974) 'An Historical Homeric Society?', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 94: 114–25.
- (1985) 'Greek Archaeology and Greek History', *Classical Antiquity* 4: 193–207.
- (2002) 'A Paradigm Shift in Classical Archaeology?', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12: 179–94.
- Soraci, C. (2011) *Sicilia frumentaria: il grano siciliano e l'annona di Roma* (Rome).
- Stampp, K. M. (1956) *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York).
- Stark, I. (ed.) (2005) *Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf und die Alte Geschichte in der DDR*. (Stuttgart).
- Starr, C. G. (1958) 'An Overdose of Slavery', *Journal of Economic History* 18: 17–32.
- (1961) *The Origins of Greek Civilization* (New York).
- Storey, G. R. (1999) 'Archaeology and Roman Society: Integrating Textual and Archaeological Data', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 7.3: 203–48.

Bibliography

- Struve, P. (1933) 'Land Tenure: Russia', in Seligman 1933: 106–10.
- Talbert, R. J. A. (1974) *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily*, 344–317 B.C. (Cambridge).
- Tanenhaus, S. (1997) *Whittaker Chambers: A Biography* (New York).
- Taplin, O. P. (1992) *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the Iliad* (Oxford).
- Tchernia, A. (1986) *Le vin de l'Italie romaine: essai d'histoire d'après les amphore* (Rome).
- Temin, P. (2013) *The Roman Market Economy* (Princeton).
- Thomas, R. (1989) *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge).
- Thorner, D. (1980) *The Shaping of Modern India* (Calcutta).
- Thorner, D. and Thorner, A. (1962a) *Land and Labour in India* (Bombay).
- (1962b) 'Agrarian Revolution by Census Redefinition', in Thorner and Thorner 1962a: 131–50.
- Thurnwald, R. (1932) *Economics in Primitive Communities* (Oxford).
- (1937) 'The Spell of Limited Possibilities: A Contribution to an Analysis of the Mechanism of Culture', *American Sociological Review* 2: 195–203.
- Todd, S. C. (1995) *The Shape of Athenian Law* (Oxford).
- Tomasi di Lampedusa, G. (1960) *The Leopard*. Trans. A. Colquhoun (New York).
- Tompkins, D. P. (2006) 'The World of Moses Finkelstein. The Year 1939 in M. I. Finley's Development as a Historian', in M. Meckler (ed.), *Classical Antiquity and the Politics of America: From George Washington to George W. Bush* (Waco): 95–126.
- (2007) 'Moses Finley: From the American Archives', *The Darwinian* (Summer): 1–2.
- (2008) 'Weber, Polanyi, and Finley', *History and Theory* 47: 123–36.
- (2013) 'Moses Finkelstein and the American Scene: The Political Formation of Moses Finley, 1932–1955', in W. V. Harris 2013: 5–30.
- (2014) 'No Poetry from the Past: The Archaeology of Moses Finley's *Ancestral Constitution*', *American Journal of Philology* 135(2): 205–19.
- (forthcoming) 'From the American Archives: The Formation of Moses Finley, 1932–1955', *Anabases*.
- Tribulato, O. (2012) "'So many Sicilies": Introducing Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily', in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily* (Cambridge): 1–45.
- Trigger, B. (2006) *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge).
- Tusa, V. (1974) 'M. I. Finley, *L'economia degli antichi e dei moderni*', *Kokalos* 20: 285–90.
- Ulf, C. (1990) *Die homerische Gesellschaft: Materialien zur analytischen Beschreibung und historischen Lokalisierung*, Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, vol. 43 (Munich).
- Ulmen, G. L. (1978) *The Science of Society: Toward an Understanding of the Life and Work of Karl August Wittfogel* (The Hague).

Bibliography

- van Wees, H. (1992) *Status Warriors: War, Violence and Society in Homer and History* (Amsterdam).
- Vella, N. (1996) 'Elusive Phoenicians', *Antiquity* 70: 245–50.
- Verbrugghe, G. P. (1972) 'Sicily 210–70 B.C.: Livy, Cicero and Diodorus', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 103: 535–59.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. (1963) 'Homère et le monde mycénien', *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 18: 703–19.
- (1964) 'Histoire et idéologie: Karl Wittfogel et le concept de "mode de production asiatique"', *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 19: 531–49.
- (1965) 'Économie et société dans la Grèce ancienne: l'oeuvre de Moses I. Finley', *European Journal of Sociology* 6(1): 111–48.
- (1968) 'The Black Hunter and the Origins of the Athenian *ephebia*', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 194: 49–64 [Revised and repr. as P. Vidal-Naquet (1986) *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*. Trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore)].
- (1990) 'Karl Wittfogel et la notion de production asiatique: note liminaire', in P. Vidal-Naquet, *La démocratie grecque vue d'ailleurs* (Paris): 267–76.
- (1995) *Politics, Ancient and Modern*. Trans. J. Lloyd (Cambridge).
- (1998) *Memoires*, vol. 2: *Le trouble et la lumière 1955–1998* (Paris).
- (2000) 'Tradition de la démocratie grecque', in *Les grecs, les historiens, la démocratie* (Paris): 219–45 [Repr. of the preface to M. I. Finley (1976) *Démocratie antique et démocratie moderne* (Paris)].
- Vittinghoff, F. (1960) 'Die Theorie des historischen Materialismus über den antiken "Sklavenhalterstaat": Probleme der Alten Geschichte bei den "Klassikern" des Marxismus und in der modernen sowjetischen Forschung', *Saeculum* 11: 89–131.
- (1961) 'Die Bedeutung der Sklaven für den Übergang von der Antike ins abendländische Mittelalter', *Historische Zeitschrift* 192: 265–72.
- Vlassopoulos, K. (2007) *Unthinking the Greek Polis: Ancient Greek History beyond Eurocentrism* (Cambridge).
- (2011a) 'Greek Slavery: From Domination to Property and Back Again', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 131: 115–30.
- (2011b) 'Two Images of Ancient Slavery: The "Living Tool" and the "koinōnia"', in E. Herrmann-Otto (ed.), *Sklaverei und Zwangsarbeit zwischen Akzeptanz und Widerstand* (Hildesheim): 467–77.
- (2013) *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge).
- (forthcoming) 'Chapter 1: Introduction: An Agenda for the Study of Greek and Roman Slavery', in S. Hodkinson, M. Kleijwegt and K. Vlassopoulos (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Slavery* (Oxford).
- Vlastos, G. (1941) 'Slavery in Plato's *Republic*', *Philosophical Review* 50: 289–304.

Bibliography

- Vogt, J. (1958) *Wege zur Menschlichkeit in der antiken Sklaverei* (Tübingen).
 (1974) *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man* (Oxford).
- von Matt, L. (1960) *Ancient Sicily*. Transl. M. Grindrod with explanatory text by L. Pareti, and captions by P. Griffo (London).
- Wagner-Hasel, B. (2005) 'Nachwort', in M. I. Finley, *Die Welt des Odysseus* (Frankfurt am Main): 201–11 [New German edition].
- Waters, M. (1996) *Daniel Bell* (New York).
- Watson, G. (2004) 'The Man from Syracuse: Moses Finley 1912–1986', *The Sewanee Review* 112: 131–7.
- Weber, M. (1891) *Römische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für das Staats- und Privatrecht* (Stuttgart).
- (1909) 'Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum', in J. Conrad, L. Elster, W. Lexis and E. Loening (eds), *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena): vol. 1, 52–188 [Repr. as Weber 1924; Trans. as Weber 1976].
- (1924) 'Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum', in Marianne Weber (ed.), *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen): 1–288.
- (1976) *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations*. Trans. R. I. Frank (London).
- Weinstein, A. and Vassiliev, A. (1998) *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America – the Stalin Era* (New York).
- Westermann, W. L. (1941) 'Athenaeus and the Slaves of Athens', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Supplement*: 451–70.
- (1943) 'Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*: 1–16.
- (1955) *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia).
- Wheatland, T. (2009) *The Frankfurt School in Exile* (Minneapolis).
- Whittaker, C. R. (1982) 'M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*', *Europa* 5(1): 83–90.
- (1986) 'Qui êtes-vous, Sir Moses?', *London Review of Books* 6 March, 8(4): 10–11 [Review of Finley, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*].
- Wiedemann, T. E. J. (2000) 'Fifty Years of Research on Ancient Slavery: The Mainz Academy Project', *Slavery and Abolition* 21: 152–8.
- Williamson, O. (2000) 'The New Institutional Economics: Taking Stock, Looking Ahead', *Journal of Economic Literature* 38: 595–613.
- Willing, M. (1991) *Althistorische Forschung in der DDR: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studie zur Entwicklung der Disziplin Alte Geschichte vom Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs bis zur Gegenwart (1945–1989)* (Berlin).
- Wilson, A. (2001) 'Timgad and Textile Production', in Mattingly and Salmon 2001: 271–96.
- Wilson, R. J. A. (1990) *Sicily under the Roman Empire: The Archaeology of a Roman Province, 36 BC – AD 535* (Warminster).
- Wolff, H. J. (1953) 'Review of Fine's *Horoi* and Finley's *Land and Credit*', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung* 60: 411–25.

Bibliography

- Woolf, G. (2004) 'The Present State and Future Scope of Roman Archaeology: A Comment', *American Journal of Archaeology* 108: 417–28.
- Worster, D. (1979) *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York).
- Zimmern, A. (1909) 'Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?', *Sociological Review* 2(1): 1–19, 159–76.

INDEX

- Adkins, Arthur
and Finley, 66–67, 73
- Agamemnon
sceptre of, 73
- Agora
horoi from, 40, 41, 43, 48, 51
- agrarian crisis
in USA, 15–16
- agriculture
and slavery, 80, 83, 96
- American Council of Learned Societies
funding Finley's doctorate, 36
- American Russian Institute
Finley and, 27–29
- Ampolo, Carmine
and Finley, 276
- anachronism
in Homer, 59, 65
- Ancient History
Finley as critic of, 2, 20
- Anderson, Perry
and Finley, 18
- Andrewes, Antony
and Finley, 193, 195, 196, 197
implicit critique of Finley, 67
- Annales*
issue of on *Ancient Economy*, 228
- anthropology
Finley and, 10, 81, 90, 190–92, 218
and the Homeric poems, 69
- archaeology
Finley and, 8, 63, 72, 246, 250–69
- Arendt, Hannah
Finley on, 166
- Athenian Empire
Finley on, 7
- Augustus
Momigliano's view of, 206
- Austin, Michel
Finley and, 194
- Backhaus, Wilhelm
and Finley, 283–84
- Badian, Ernst
on Finley, 283
- Badiou, Alain
on democracy, 218–19
- banking
in Athens, 54
- Barnouw, Jeffrey, 67, 71
- Battersby, Rosalynne
on Finley, 145
- Bell, Daniel, 27
and Finley, 17, 26, 135
- Berger, Adolph
and Finley, 37, 45
- Berlin, Isaiah, 196
- Binford, Lewis, 255, 258, 260
- Blassingame, J. W.
Slave Community, 90
- Blegen, Carl
Finley and, 253
- Bloch, Marc
and Finley, 16
on slavery, 80
- Boardman, John, 156, 157
and Finley, 164, 254, 255–56, 266
as popularizer, 152
review of Finley, 118
- Boas, Franz
and Finley, 28, 191
- Bowra, Maurice
reviewed by Finley, 158, 160
on *World of Odysseus*, 62
- Bradley, Keith
on slave societies, 95, 96

Index

- British Academy
election of Finley to, 10
- Brunt, Peter, 141, 142, 145
Finley's preferred reader, 203
- Bücher, Karl, 229
and Finley, 17, 236, 272
and slavery, 78
- Burnyeat, Myles, 104
- Buxton, Richard, 184
Finley and, 194
- Cambridge
Finley in, 1, 3, 10, 32, 101, 126–50,
182–92, 262–66
Cambridge Ancient History
on Sicily, 109
Cambridge Philological Society
addressed by Vidal-Naquet, 184
- Carandini, Andrea
and Finley, 16, 21–22
- Carcopino, Jérôme, 124
- Cawkwell, George, 142
- Chadwick, John
and decipherment of Linear B, 153
- Chatto & Windus, 101, 103, 104, 105–07,
121, 141, 187, 194
- Chios
slaves on, 97
- Christianity
and slavery, 80, 89
- cities, ancient
as centres of consumption, 84,
234, 268
- Clarke, David, 255, 258, 260, 263, 264
- class struggle
Finley on, 18, 220, 234, 235, 277, 278
- Classical Association
Finley's lectures for, 127
Finley as President of, 10, 74
- Cleon
Finley on, 212
- Cohen, Edward E.
on Athenian banking, 54
- Cohn, Leonie
as radio producer, 165–66
- Communist Party
in Europe, 270, 285
Finley and, 1, 277
in Washington in 1930s, 16
- Cook, J. M.
as popularizer, 152
- Cook, Michael
on Finley, 146
- Cook, R. M.
Finley and, 263
- Corcyra
slaves on, 97
- Crete
slaves in, 85, 87, 97
- Crook, John, 138, 140
- Darwin College, Cambridge
and Finley, 3, 4, 126, 183, 187–89,
196, 199, 210
- Davies, J. K.
on Athenian banking, 54
on Finley, 49
- Day, John
and Finley, 37
- debt bondage, 17, 83, 85, 92
at Athens, 91–92
- Defradas, Jean
on *World of Odysseus*, 64
- Delos
as a free port, 239–40, 243
- demagogues, Athenian
Finley on, 6, 7
- Demetrios of Phaleron
abolishes liturgies, 53
- democracy
Finley on, 29, 32, 88
- Demosthenes
Against Phainippos, 39
- Didaskalos*, 141
Finley and, 127, 140
- divine justice
in Homer and Hesiod, 59, 64
- Dolci, Danilo, 101, 115
- Drinkwater, John
on Finley, 135
- Ducetius
revolt of, 112, 113, 117
- Duncan-Jones, Richard
on Finley, 135
- Dunn, John
on democracy, 218
and Finley, 9, 126, 130, 131, 134,
146, 185

Index

- economics
restricted to capitalist system, 236
- economy, ancient
embedded, 52, 53, 242–49
Finley on, 1, 248–49, 284–86; *see also*
Finley, Moses, *Ancient Economy*
slavery and, 84
- Egypt
Finley's neglect of, 94
- Ehrenberg, Victor, 217
Finley critical of, 21
- Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*
and Finley, 14–15
- Fabius Pictor
Finley's desire to recover, 117
- face-to-face society, 216–17
- Farrar, Cynthia
and democratic theory, 221
- Farrington, Benjamin
reviewed by Finley, 18, 19
- Fazello, Tommaso
and history of Sicily, 114, 115
- Fetherling, George
on *World of Odysseus*, 60
- Fifth Amendment
taken by Finley, 28
- Fine, J. V. A.
on *horoi*, 40–44
- Finkelstein, Moses. *See* Finley, Moses:
name of
- Finley, Mary, 101, 107, 139, 140, 188,
189, 200
- Finley, Moses
- Life**
name of, 13, 138, 208
career of, 1, 9–10
intellectual development of,
1927–47, 13–30
and Frankfurt School, 14, 19, 22, 29
and *Encyclopaedia of the Social*
Sciences, 14–15
and *Punishment and Social*
Structure, 23–25
reviewing for *Zeitschrift für*
Sozialforschung, 183
and American Russian
Institute, 27–29
doctoral studies, 34–36
and Communist Party, 1, 27–30
and Rutgers University, 28, 29, 38
takes Fifth Amendment, 28
arrival in Britain, 167–68
on living in Britain, 167–81; *see also*
Darwin College; Jesus College
appointments at Cambridge, 1, 3, 32,
101, 126, 128, 134, 169, 182–92,
193, 197, 201
radio broadcasts, 151–55
at Taranto conference 1967, 102, 113
Inaugural Lecture, 185
and abolition of compulsory Greek
and Latin composition, 186
and Joint Association of Classical
Teachers, 2, 186
and teaching in schools, 2,
126–50, 186
as Trustee of British Museum, 263, 265
Wolfson Prize, 214
knighted, 199–200
interviewed by Keith Hopkins,
31–32, 297
centenary celebrations of, xv, 3
- Characteristics**
characteristics of writings of, 190
charisma of, 11, 135, 143
confrontational style, 194
contradictory views of, 90
determination to study the Greek
economy without economics, 35
difficulty of understanding, 61, 63
getting colleagues' comments on
writings, 107
Hellenocentric view of, 111
and historical models, 1
hosting parties, 194
knowledge of Greek, 42, 131, 183
interest in Judaism, 200, 202–03,
205, 208–09
literary quality of work, 271
methodology of, 5, 66, 72–73, 74, 75
minimalism of, 267
missing deadlines, 105–07
on need to think about Greeks in
Greek terms, 35, 71
old-fashioned notion of history, 118
personality of, 11

Index

Finley, Moses (*cont.*)

political convictions of, 6, 10, 12,
57, 276–77

prose style of, 18

and quantification, 246–47, 262

reluctance to discuss intellectual
debts, 272, 275

reputation of in Europe, 2, 3

reputation of behind Iron Curtain, 2

reticence about his past, 13

on studying primary sources, 2

voice of, 2, 6, 8, 159

Activities

as art critic, 103, 162, 265–66

as book reviewer, 187, 195, 204, 254–55

as editor, 10

journalism of, 181

as legal historian, 43

as teacher and lecturer, 6, 7, 8–9, 11,
104, 126–50, 182

as translator, 23–25

as undergraduate and graduate
supervisor, 135–40

Intellectual relationships

and Andrea Carandini, 16

and anthropology, 60–61, 69, 73, 81,
90, 190–92, 218

and archaeology, 63, 246, 250–69

and European scholars, 139–40, 185,
193–94, 270–87

and Fritz Heichelheim, 14, 16, 34, 36,
37, 40, 41

and Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, 7, 102,
168, 197, 198, 235, 285

and Karl Polanyi, 46–47

and Marc Bloch, 16

and Marx, 17, 21, 24

and Marxism, 183, 218, 234–35, 272,
275, 277–85

and Max Weber, 6, 17, 20, 36, 47, 183,
234, 237, 272, 284–86

and Athenian Democracy, 210–26

and social sciences, 6–7, 10, 12, 73, 271

Academic views

on absence of social theory in
Greece, 18

on ancient censorship, 213

on ancient portraits, 162, 256

on ancient world as alien, 129

on ancient economy, 1

on Athenian democracy, 6, 156,
158, 161

on Athenian demagogues, 29, 32, 88
on date of world described by

Homer, 59–60

on decipherment of Linear B, 154

on first *Cambridge Ancient*

History, 183

on Greek colonisation, 113

on Greek law, 46

on heroic code, 66, 75

on historiography, 203

and historiography of slavery, 76

on Homeric economy, 74

on *horoi*, 36, 38–44, 46, 50

and humanitarian approach to
slavery, 88–89

on imperialism, 206–07

and issues of agrarian labour, 14–22

periodisation of slavery, 91–94,

98, 116–17

on non unity of Greek law, 45

on Platonic political philosophy, 159

on Plato's Sicilian visits, 104

on Pringsheim's *Greek Law of Sale*, 45

on psychology of Athenian

politicians, 212

and religion, 208

on Sicilian slave revolts, 116–18, 124

on Sicily, 100–25

on slavery, 1, 9, 76–99, 278–84

teaching slavery, 131–33, 146, 183

on understanding Homer in Homeric
terms, 62

Reactions to

impact of, xv, 4, 5–9, 10–11

impact, measurement of, 288–97

inspiring work in classical

reception, 274

scholarly critique of, 7

Monographs

Ancient Economy, 6, 7, 10, 11, 33, 34,
47, 49, 58, 72, 75, 123, 154, 190,
206, 207, 214, 249, 252, 260, 261,
267, 284–85, 286, 291–92, 295

Index

- Ancient Greeks*, 164
Ancient History: Evidence and Models,
 47, 189, 260
Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest, 9,
 100–25, 266
Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology,
 76, 88, 93, 281
 ‘Anthropology and the Classics’, 237–38
Aspects of Antiquity, 11, 105, 118
Classical Slavery, 91, 208
Democracy Ancient and Modern, 6, 7,
 58, 210–26, 273, 275
Democracy Ancient and Modern,
 review of, 214–15
Early Greece, 206
*Economy and Society in Ancient
 Greece*, 291
 ‘Emporos, Naukleros and Kapelos’, 34
*International Encyclopaedia of the
 Social Sciences*:, 82
Legacy of Greece, 188, 194, 204, 205
Politics in the Ancient World, 6, 188,
 211, 287
Slavery and Abolition, 76, 91
Slavery in Classical Antiquity, 80, 194
*Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient
 Athens*, 2, 9, 32–57, 58, 271
Studies in Roman Property, 188
Use and Abuse of History, 162, 259, 291
World of Odysseus, 9, 10, 11, 32, 38, 58–
 75, 153, 154, 184, 186, 190, 192,
 195, 253–54, 263, 272, 287, 291
World of Odysseus, reviews of, 63–66
- Foucault, Michel, 290
 on Rusche and Kirchheimer’s
 Punishment and Social Structure, 23
- Frankfurt School
 Finley and, 14, 19, 22, 29, 183
- Fraser, Peter M.
 Finley and, 257
 and Momigliano, 196
 Ptolemaic Alexandria, 195
- freedom
 Finley on, 86, 88, 96, 220, 234
- freedom of speech
 absence of in antiquity, 213
- Freeman, Edward
 History of Sicily, 108, 113, 115
- Freund, Julien
 and Finley, 273–74
- Garnsey, Peter, 210
- Genovese, E.
 Roll, Jordan, Roll, 90
- Gernet, Louis, 273
- Gibbon, Edward
 Decline and Fall, citation of, 295
- giftexchange
 Finley on, 60–61, 66, 74, 75
- Gill, N. S.
 on *World of Odysseus*, 58
- gods
 in Homer, 64, 65
- Gomme, A. W.
 criticised by Finley, 35
- Goody, Jack, 192
 and Finley, 184, 217–18
- Gordon, Richard, 125, 184
 and Finley, 136, 139, 147, 194
- Granovetter, Mark
 and economic sociology, 243, 244, 245
 on under- and over-socialisation, 242
- Gray, Dorothea
 on *World of Odysseus*, 65–66
- Green, Peter
 and Finley, 102
- Greene, Kevin
 and Finley, 267–68
- Gregory, Nancy
 and Finley, 130
- growth, economic, 246, 247
 absence of, 234
- Hainsworth, Bryan
 on *World of Odysseus*, 66, 71
- Halstead, Paul
 on Finley, 264–65
- Hansen, Mogens Herman
 and Finley, 222–23
 on Finley’s view of Athenian
 democracy, 215–16
- Harris, Edward M.
 on *horoi*, 54–57
- Hartog, François
 and Finley, 201, 275, 287
- Hawkes, Jacquetta
 Finley on, 157, 254–55

Index

- HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England)
 assessment of scholarly impact
 by, 3
- Heichelheim, Fritz
 and Finley, 14, 16, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41
- helots, Spartan, 85, 87, 92, 93, 97
- Herodotus
 on Marathon, 129
- Hesiod
 and divine justice, 59
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 101, 147, 192, 212
 on Finley, 18
- Holm, Adolf
History of Sicily, 108, 110, 115
- Homer
 Finley on, 32, 58–75, 158, 253
- Hood, Sinclair, 153
- Hopkins, Keith
 on economic growth, 247
 and Finley, 8, 31–32, 38, 57, 134, 228, 246, 297
- Horkheimer, Max, 19, 29
 and Finley, 22, 23
 and Georg Rusche, 24
- Hornblower, Simon
 and *World of Odysseus*, 58, 60, 61
- horoi*
 analyses of since Finley, 48–49, 50–53, 54–57
 Finley on, 36, 38–44, 46, 50
- Hume, David
 and slavery, 78
- impact, scholarly
 assessment of, 3, 11, 12
 definition of, 288
 measurement of, 288–97
- imperialism
 Finley and, 206–07
 Momigliano on, 206
- Iron Curtain
 Finley's reputation behind, 2
- Jackson, Anne E
 on Finley, 130, 148
- Jesus College, Cambridge
 Finley and, 9, 133, 136, 141, 147, 149, 182
- Joint Association of Classical Teachers, 140–43
 Finley and, 2, 127, 186
- Jones, A. H. M., 128, 138, 184
 citation of, 294, 296
 and Finley, 9, 32, 128, 129, 133–34, 182
Later Roman Empire, citation of, 295
 on slavery, 80
- Jones, Nicholas F.
 on *horoi*, 51
- Josephus
 dispute over between Finley and Momigliano, 202–03, 205
- Kermode, Frank
 and Finley, 162
- Kern, Stephen
 and Finley, 136
- Kirchheimer, Otto
 and Finley, 23–25
- Kirk, Geoffrey
 and Finley, 68
- Kirk, G. S.
 Finley and, 195
- Knossos, 153
- Knox, Bernard
 on *World of Odysseus*, 58–59, 61
- LACTORS, 141
- Lampedusa, Giuseppe Tommaso di, 102, 110, 114
- land
 alienability of, 41, 43, 190
- land reform
 Finley and, 1
- land tenure
 Finley's structural view of, 20
- landholdings
 fragmentation of, 51
- landownership
 separate from money-based activities, 53
- Lanza, Diego
 and Finley, 275, 276
- Laslett, Peter
 and face-to-face society, 216
- Latte, Kurt
 Finley on, 153

Index

- law
 Finley on, 25, 70
 Leach, Edmund, 192
 and Finley, 184
 Lepore, Ettore, 139
 Lewis, D. M.
 review of Finley, 113, 117, 120
The Listener
 Finley reviewing for 159
 Finley's radio talks in 2, 105, 155–157, 161, 163, 277
 Linear B
 decipherment of, 60, 63, 151–52, 153, 163
 literacy
 in the ancient world, 218
 and civilisation, 164
 liturgists
 and *horoi*, 52–53
 Long, A. A.
 critique of Adkins, 67
 Lotze, Detlev
 Finley and, 194
 Mack Smith, Denis, 100–01, 102, 103, 104, 105–07, 110–11, 112, 114, 115, 122, 159, 202
 Mainz Academy on slavery, 79, 88, 195, 280–82, 284
 Marcuse, Herbert
 and Finley, 19, 23
 market, 93
 at Athens, 57
 coexisting with reciprocity, 243–44
 for land, 46, 56, 57
 underdeveloped, 234
 Marx, Karl, 280, 282–84
 Finley and, 17, 21, 24, 183, 234–35, 275
 Marxism
 and European universities, 270
 matriarchy, 185, 272
 Mauss, Marcel
 Finley and, 60, 73, 147, 190, 272
 Maxwell, Gavin, 101
 McCarran, Patrick
 and Senate Internal Security Committee, 28, 182, 276
 McIntyre, Alasdair, 186
 Meier, Christian
 and Finley, 287
 Menen, Aubrey
 review of Finley's *Ancient Sicily*, 120
 merchant
 no single word for in Homer, 72
 Meritt, B. D.
 and *horoi*, 40
 metics
 and Athenian economy, 53
 Metropolitan Museum New York
 and Finley, 265–66
 Meyer, Eduard, 92, 93, 229
 Finley and, 147, 236
 on slavery, 79, 80, 81, 82
 Mickwitz, Gunnar
 on economic rationalism, 17, 35
 Miller, Karl, 159, 162, 165
 mines, silver
 leasing of, 52, 53
 slaves in, 86, 95
 Momigliano, Arnaldo, 183, 286
 career of, 196
 citation of, 293–95
 and Finley, 6, 114, 115, 147, 183, 184, 194–209, 273, 276, 282
 on Finley on slavery, 76
 on historiography of Sicily, 116
 reviews *Ancient Economy*, 248
 on Weber, 207
 Mommsen, Theodor
 citation of, 293, 294
 Morris, Ian
 and economic sociology, 242
 and Finley, 265
 on Finley and archaeology, 258
 Introduction to *Ancient Economy*, 228
 World of Odysseus, 69–70
 Moscati, Sabatino
 and Phoenicians, 112
 Mossé, Claude
 and Finley, 139, 226
 Murrell, John
 on Finley, 142
 Mycenae
 and Homer, 59, 60, 253
 Nafissi, Mohammed
 on Finley, 46, 76, 223
 Needham, Joseph, 191

Index

- Neumann, Franz, 19
 and *Punishment and Social Structure*, 24
 and Soviet Union, 26–27
- New Archaeology
 Finley and, 251, 255, 257–62, 263, 268
 ‘New Deal’, 16
- New Institutional Economics
 and study of the ancient economy, 50,
 228, 239–42
- Nilsson, Martin
 reviewed by Finley, 18
- North, Douglass, 239–42, 243–44
 and the ancient economy, 242
- oikos*
 controversy over, 46
 meaning of, 70, 71
 nature of in Homer, 73
- Oliva, Pavel
 and Finley, 157, 279
- OPUS, *Rivista internazionale per la storia economica e sociale dell'antichità*,
 a journal of Finley studies, 285
- Orlandini, Piero, 102
- Osborne, Robin
 on face-to-face society, 217
 on *horoi*, 51–52
 and teaching of Ancient History, 143
- Pace, Biagio
History of Sicily, 108, 115
- Page, Denys, 145, 153, 186, 195
 and Finley, 164, 182
 as popularizer, 152
- Pais, Ettore
History of Sicily, 108, 115
- Palmer, L. R.
 and Finley, 163
paramone, 85
- Pareti, Luigi
History of Sicily, 108, 114, 115, 123
- Pareto, Vilfredo
 Finley and, 183, 275, 276
- Pećirka, Jan, 139
- Pembroke, Simon, 185
- Penguin books
 Finley and, 8, 204
- Pericles
 Finley on, 212
- personality
 importance of for Finley’s impact, 8
- Phoenicians
 in Homer, 72
 in Sicily, 112, 113, 115
 and trade, 72
- Piggott, Stuart
 and Finley, 163, 164
- Plato
 on democracy, 274
 Finley on, 18, 104, 105, 157, 159, 220
- Pleket, Harry
 collaborating with Finley, 188
 on Finley, 283
- Pliny the Younger
 as landowner, 19
- Plumb, J. H.
 and Finley, 140
- Poland
 Finley’s views on, 167
- Polanyi, Karl, 243
 and ancient economy, 237–38
 and Douglass North, 241
 Finley and, 46–47, 183, 237–38
- population
 importance of quantifying, 17, 63, 83,
 246, 267
- productivity
 importance of assessing, 236, 246, 267
- public engagement
 Finley and, 1
- Purcell, Nicholas
 on Finley, 127
- Quasimodo, Salvatore, 102
- radio
 Finley and, 2, 127, 151–55, 162–81
- Rawson, Elizabeth
 and Finley, 127
- Redfield, J. M.
 on *World of Odysseus*, 68–69
- refugees
 Momigliano and Finley as, 199
- Renfrew, Colin
 attacked by Boardman, 266
 Finley and, 259, 263

Index

- reviews
 - by Finley, 2
- revolt
 - of slaves, 18, 85, 235, 278
- Rhodes
 - effect on of making Delos a free port, 239–40, 242, 243
- Rieu, E. V.
 - attacked by Finley, 71
- Robertson, H. G.
 - on *World of Odysseus*, 64, 66
- Roosevelt, F. D.
 - and agrarian crisis, 15
- Rosen, Edward
 - and Finley, 37
- Rostovtzeff, Mikhail
 - and ancient economy, 230
 - citation of, 294
 - and Finley, 247, 252–53, 255
- Roussel, Denis, 107
- Runcie, Robert
 - and map of battle of Marathon, 129
- Rusche, Georg
 - Punishment and Social Structure*, 23–24
- Rutgers University
 - and Finley, 1, 7, 10, 23, 28, 29, 36–38, 169, 211, 273, 276
- Ryle, Gilbert, 104
- Sather Lectures
 - by Finley, 10, 227
- Scheidel, Walter, 191, 219
- Schiller, A. Arthur
 - and Finley, 37
- Schlaifer, R.
 - on slavery, 80
- Schliemann, Heinrich
 - Finley on, 65, 253
- Schofield, Malcolm
 - on *euboulia*, 67
- schools
 - Finley and teaching in, 2, 126–27, 140–43
- Schumpeter, Joseph
 - Finley and, 276
- Scullard, H. H.
 - review of Finley, 120, 202
- Seligman, Edwin R. A.
 - editor of *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 14–15
- Settefinistre
 - debate about, 21–22
- Sewter, E. R. A.
 - on *World of Odysseus*, 64
- Seyffert, Hans
 - on *World of Odysseus*, 64
- Shakespeare, William
 - compared to Homer, 62
- Sharwood Smith, John
 - and teaching of Ancient History, 128, 140, 141
- Sherwin White, A. N.
 - Finley on, 160
- Shipton, Kirsty
 - on *horoi*, 52–53
- Sicily
 - in British popular culture, 102
 - Finley's work on, 100–25
- Silvers, Bob
 - and Finley as reviewer, 159
- Skinner, Quentin
 - and Finley, 9, 22, 126, 129, 134, 148, 185
- Skydsgaard, Jens Erik
 - on *Ancient Economy*, 249
- slave societies, 82–85
 - Finley on, 95–97
- slavery
 - approaches to, 37, 77–81
 - Finley on, 1, 6, 9, 18, 32, 76–99, 278–82
 - in Homeric poems, 74
 - humanitarian approach to, 93–94
 - Marxist approaches to, 78, 79–80, 82, 85–86, 87, 278–80
 - in New World, 90–91, 96, 97, 98
 - periodisation of, 87, 98
- slaves
 - kinlessness of, 89, 90, 97
 - productivity of, 278
 - revolt of, 116–18, 235, 278
 - at Settefinistre, 21–22
- Smith, Adam
 - and slavery, 78
- Smith, Leslie
 - interviewing Finley, 167–81

Index

- Smith, Prudence
 as radio producer, 151, 153, 165
- Snodgrass, Anthony
 and Finley, 68, 69, 258–59, 263–64, 266
- social science
 Finley and, 6–7
- Social Science Research Council
 Finley's unsuccessful application to, 34–36, 37, 49
- social theory
 absence of in Greece according to Finley, 18
- Solon, 40, 83, 91, 92
- Song of Roland*
 army numbers in, 63
- Stanford, W. B.
 on *World of Odysseus*, 65
- Starr, Chester
 and Finley, 67, 147
- on slavery, 279
- statistics
 Finley and, 246–47
- status
 descriptive not explanatory category, 87
- statuses
 spectrum of, 86–88, 90, 97, 116, 235, 278
- Ste. Croix, G. E. M. de
 and Finley, 7, 102, 168, 197, 198, 235, 285
- on *Studies in Land and Credit*, 42
- Stockholm
 International Congress of History 1960 at, 282–83
- Stoics
 and slavery, 89
- Struve, Peter
 unpublished critique of Stalin, 15
- Talbert, Richard J. A.
 on Finley, 137
- Taplin, Oliver
 on heroic code, 66
- Tchernia, André
 and Finley, 21
- technical terms
 in Attic orators, 55
- Thomas, Rosalind
 on Finley and *horoi*, 50–51
- Thomson, George
 Finley on, 272
- Thomson Reuter's Web of Knowledge
 use of to measure impact, 288
- Thucydides, 104, 111, 128, 160, 203, 204, 212, 221
- Thurnwald, Richard
 and Finley, 17
- Timaeus of Tauromenium
 Finley's desire to recover, 117
- Timoleon
 Finley on, 124
- Toynbee, Arnold
 Finley on, 160
- trade
 archaeological evidence for, 266
- in Homeric world, 72, 74
- Polanyi on, 237
- scale of, 234, 236, 237
- in slaves, 90, 131, 282
- topic of Finley's early research, 234
- trivialisation
 Finley on, 159
- Troy
 Finley on, 253
- Tuck, Richard
 and Finley, 135, 149
- Tusa, Vincenzo, 108, 115
 review of Finley, 123
- Ullmann, Walter
 as lecturer, 130
- Vallet, Georges, 107
- van Doren, Mark
 on *World of Odysseus*, 61–62
- Van Wees, Hans
 on *World of Odysseus*, 70–71, 73
- Ventris, Michael
 and decipherment of Linear B, 151–52, 153
- Verdenius, W. J.
 on *World of Odysseus*, 64
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre, 139, 194, 273
 and Finley, 184
- Vidal-Naquet, Pierre, 121, 139, 194
 and Finley, 184, 201, 221, 273–75, 286
- Vittinghoff, Friedrich
 and Finley, 281, 282–83

Index

- Vlastos, Gregory
on slavery, 80
- Vogt, Joseph
and Finley, 280–82
on slavery, 79, 80, 88
- Walbank, Frank, 102
- Walker, Susan
on Finley, 265
- Weber, Max
and ancient economy, 232
Finley and, 6, 10, 17, 20, 36, 47, 147,
183, 234, 237, 272, 284–86
Momigliano on, 207
- Webster, T. B. L.
on *World of Odysseus*, 65
- Westermann, W. L.
and Finley, 34, 80–81, 137, 147
on slavery, 80–81
- Whittaker, C. R.
and Carandini, 21–22
- Will, Édouard
review of Finley, 120, 125
- Williams, Bernard, 186, 196
- Wilson, Roger
and Sicilian archaeology, 109
- Winton, Richard, 184
Finley and, 137, 194
- Wittfogel, Karl-August
and Finley, 276
- Woodbines
Finley and, 126, 136, 147,
265
- Woodhead, Geoffrey
as populariser, 152
- Woolf, Greg
on Finley, 250

